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THE GUARDIAN

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WHITE HORSE
Fine Old
Scotch Whisky

London and Dublin denials fail
to halt speculation

Initiative on Ulster played down

By Ian Aitken and Colin Brown

The Government was doing its utmost yesterday to play down renewed speculation that an Anglo-Irish formula to the Northern Ireland problem is very close.

But the denials, which concentrated largely on the timing of the initiative, failed to convince politicians on both sides of the Irish Sea that even if such a deal is not imminent, something very like it is being sought between Whitehall and Dublin.

The speculation arose against a background of a weekend visit to Dublin by Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, and Mr Douglas Haard, the Northern Ireland Secretary, together with some unusually frank utterances by Dr Garret FitzGerald, the Taoiseach, in a speech in London on Friday.

The two British ministers are understood to have had talks with Dr FitzGerald's deputy Mr Dick Spring and Mr Peter Barry, the Irish Minister for External Affairs. They are believed to have discussed possible arrangements for a summit between Mrs Thatcher and Dr

Leader talks, page 12; Border, page 2.

FitzGerald at a formal summit in the summer.

But it was the suggestion that the initiative would be pushed to the point of implementation with a speech in which he affirmed that the Government was actively seeking a deal for what he called "a novel political structure" which could accommodate both communities in Ulster.

Dr FitzGerald emphasised that there was still a long way to go, but he insisted that there had been a considerable improvement in the atmosphere since the disastrous conclusion to last year's London summit.

British ministers and officials yesterday echoed Dr FitzGerald's caveat, however. Mr Nicholas Scott, British's duty minister in the province, reacted to a highly optimistic Sunday newspaper report of an approaching deal by declaring that it had grossly "over-egged the pudding".

And Mr Hurd, preparing to leave Heathrow for the United States to explain the state of play to American officials, insisted that "both Governments have a great deal more thinking and talking to do before anything can come out of this".

The weekend report in the

Resign call to SA police minister

From Barry Street in Cape Town

The resignation of the South African law and order minister was demanded by opposition parties yesterday amid continuing violence in the wake of Thursday's police killing of 19 blacks.

Ten people died in the Eastern Cape at the weekend, including three shot by police on Saturday night in Kwanobuhle, near Langa, the scene of Thursday's massacre. Yesterday a crowd of 35,000 people attended a tense but peaceful funeral at Kwanobuhle for six victims. Police kept out of the funeral as "burned-out homes" in the township smouldered.

In the US, the assistant secretary of state for Africa, Mr Chester Crocker, said Pretoria must make constructive changes in accommodating the black majority or face "chaos". But the South African President, Mr P. W. Botha, said he faced a "special situation" and "nobody in the world is going to stop me from keeping order".

Leader comment and: Ruge Young, page 12; Cape of no hope, page 17.

The resignation of the law and order minister, Mr Louis Le Grange, who is responsible for the police, was demanded by five of the eight political parties represented in South Africa's tricameral Parliament.

Two of the parties, the Labour Party, which controls the Coloured house of representatives, and the National People's Party, which controls the Indian house of delegates — are coalition partners of the government.

The Labour leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, and the NPP leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, belong to the South African cabinet, of which Mr Le Grange is also a member. Their call was backed by the official opposition parties in all three houses.

Apart from last Thursday's killings, the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, the opposition called for a national day of mourning and a court of inquiry into the events.

But an underlying feature of the negotiations has been a propaganda exchange between the two sides. The Labour Party has been accused of "over-egging the pudding".

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The weekend report in the



Demonstrators jeer at the body of the son of the last community councillor, who was hacked and burned to death during unrest at Kwanobuhle township in South Africa's Eastern Cape

They also cited the death of 19 Crossroads squatters during police action in February, pre-dawn raids on Cape Town university students and the public admission by a senior officer that the security branch would engage in "disinformation against people they considered subversive".

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, the official Opposition in the white house of parliament, said: "I think the minister is such an embarrassment in his handling of these sensitive issues that he should not be allowed to continue in his post."

The PFP MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, added her voice yesterday to the criticism after visiting the scene of Thursday's killings. "The impression we got from every source that we queried was that the whole thing was a peaceful march, and there was no need for police action at all," she said.

The PFP is collecting affidavits from witnesses of the shootings, and so far all have said the crowd did not provoke the police into opening fire.

Mrs Suzman said blacks she spoke to in the townships near Uitenhage were "bewildered, and getting angrier as the death toll mounts. I'm very apprehensive that this will escalate and spread. The blacks are very angry, and one can see why. All this talk of reform is just nonsense in the face of this kind of disaster."

After yesterday's funeral service, thousands of mourners travelled home through white Uitenhage. The town was deserted except for uniformed police and reservists stationed on almost every street corner.

Blacks jeered and shouted catcalls at police, including "We're going to get you whitey," but there were no incidents. A police spokesman denied reports that army troops were helping out, but acknowledged that army exercises were being conducted in the area.

The spokesman also confirmed that police were investigating complaints by Molly Turn to back page, col. 4.

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This week

Today

CUCKOO

As the Prime Minister rounds on cloister and common room, James Naughtie examines her style and Robert Runcie, after five years as Archbishop of Canterbury, reflects on Church roles, page 17. On Agenda, Oxford dons give reason why the honorary degree never was, page 8

ROUGH JUSTICE

People are increasingly ready to seek private remedies for social injustice. Agenda on the political significance of crime, page 8

TESTING TIMES

Who controls experiments on human guinea pigs? Polly Roybee investigates a tragic case, Guardian Women, page 10

Tomorrow

HARD LABOUR

Two thirds of school children go to work as well. Who cares? Education Guardian investigates

Wednesday

ANIMAL RIGHTS

How much pain should experimental animals be expected to stand? Society Tomorrow reports on promised protections

NEWS IN BRIEF

Rift over Castro

A RIFT in Soviet-Cuban relations appears to have developed over President Castro's response to US pressure on Nicaragua. Page 6

Rates warning

TORY councils have warned the Government that failure to tackle rating inequalities could lose the next election. Page 4

Arms inquiry

AN investigation has been called for into the appointment of Mr Peter Levene to head the Ministry of Defence's arms buying programme. Page 2

Private affairs

THE chairman of the House of Fraser stores group has defended the right of the Al-Fayed family, whose \$615 million offer for the group he has recommended to keep their business affairs private. Page 21

Teachers' claim

THE teachers' industrial action is beginning to have a serious effect on pupils' learning, a teachers' association warned yesterday. Back page

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Soviet diplomat defects

From Ajay Bose in New Delhi

A Soviet diplomat who disappeared while taking a morning walk in a New Delhi park last Sunday has defected to the United States, the Indian Government was told yesterday. The Soviet ambassador to India, Mr V. N. Rykov, and the

Stores saviour's award

By Ian Aitken

The next phase of the Government's plan to "liberate" businesses from the burdens of planning restrictions, employment protection laws and red tape, get underway this week. Ministers will publish a report on Friday dealing the areas for reform.

In last week's budget the Chancellor promised moves to create a business climate in which employers would hire and fire more workers and in a weekend speech the Prime Minister promised radical action to remove obstacles to job creation.

Mrs Thatcher's address to the half-yearly Conservative

Council in Newcastle upon Tyne captured the headlines but not for its carefully planned announcement of the Government's six-point plan for jobs. To the chagrin of her advisers it was Mrs Thatcher's description of bishops as "cuckoo" which got the coverage.

Officials were at pains yesterday to draw attention to series of moves designed to meet Mrs Thatcher's aim. At the head of the list is a plan to remove much of the post-war legislation on planning, central minimum wage levels and protection from unfair dismissal.

Friday's report, drawn up by Mr David Trippier, junior industry minister, is expected to define the extent to which businesses — particularly small ones — are hampered by such regulations. It will then be up to Lord Young, the cabinet minister responsible for job creation, to translate it into a programme.

Mrs Thatcher has mobilised several ministers to carry out her plans. Sir Keith Joseph is expected to publish a new white paper on schools this week, there is to be an employment white paper from Mr Tom King a few days later, and the Department of Transport is scheduled to publish guidelines for a Channel tunnel in the next two weeks.

Not long after the Easter recess it is expected that the Employment Department will follow up its white paper with new legislation to relax shop hours. And shortly afterwards, Mr King is expected to decide the fate of the wages councils.

The urgency with which the Prime Minister is now treating the problem of unemployment clearly reflects mounting anxiety that her Government's failure to reduce the total figure is becoming a serious vote loser. This was underlined yesterday with the publication of another poll showing Labour pulling ahead of the Conservatives, and a huge majority of voters condemning the Government's record of unemployment as "bad".

The poll, conducted by MORI for the Sunday Times, put Labour two points in the lead with the Alliance slipping back to under a quarter of the electorate. The figures were: Labour 38, Tories 37, Alliance 22, and others 2.

Perhaps more significant were the poll's findings on issues like unemployment and the budget. It recorded only 13 per cent of voters believing that the budget would help to cut employment, with four-fifths saying it would do nothing.

Asked to choose between public spending and tax cuts as the best means of combating unemployment, 73 per cent preferred public spending. Only 23 per cent favoured the

Ministers gear up to 'liberate' small businesses

By Ian Aitken

Political Editor

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Lawson may borrow more for tax cuts

By Christopher Hume, Economics Editor

The Chancellor might consider higher Government borrowing than presently planned to expand his scope for tax cuts in next year's budget.

Mr Nigel Lawson hedged this possibility of a larger budget deficit — the gap between revenues and spending — with a number of prior conditions, but his remarks mark an important step towards the easier budgetary policy urged on him by his own wets and all the Opposition parties.

The surprising timing of his comments on London Weekend Television's Weekend World, comes less than a week after a restrictive budget designed to placate the financial markets. It suggests that only the sterling crisis in January stopped a small dose of Reaganomics.

Mr Lawson said that the important targets in his strategy were monetary, and that there may be some scope for a modest adjustment in borrowing, though he repeated that this was only a possibility and the scope would be small. The main determinant of tax cuts would continue to be strict

control of public spending. Moreover, such change in the mix of policy with a more relaxed fiscal policy and a tighter monetary policy "will only be undertaken if I am absolutely confident that inflation is on a downward path".

He also emphasised that much depended on events outside his control, notably the US budget deficit and the rising dollar. He predicted that we had "probably seen the end of this astonishing, stratospheric rise in the dollar," which might create the climate next year for some adjustment.

Pressed by Mr Brian Walden, the interviewer, Mr Lawson said that there was no way of putting a figure on it — it might not be there at all — and it would be wrong of him to make a promise. He agreed that it was possible that there might be more unemployed than now in three years.

Mr Lawson said that last week's budget would have a "serious, important, and useful impact on jobs," and drew particular attention to the changed system of national insurance contributions to reduce the job cost of lower paid workers.

Norwich win Milk Cup

THE Norwich City captain, Dave Watson (left) shows his joy after his team beat Sunderland 1-0 in the Milk Cup final at Wembley yesterday with an own-goal just after half-time.

In Lisbon yesterday, Zola Budd became the first English athlete to win the women's world cross-country championship. The South African-born runner won by the huge margin of 23 seconds.

Portugal's Carlos Lopes, aged 33, retained the men's title.

Reports, pages 24 and 25

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Worry at double-pay defence job for ex-arms firm chief

MPs will urge investigation of Levene posting

By Richard Norton-Taylor

The Commons Treasury and Civil Service committee will be asked this week to investigate the appointment of Mr Peter Levene, a former defence contractor, to head the Ministry of Defence arms procurement programme.

Two members of the committee — Mr Austin Mitchell, Labour MP for Grimsby, and Mr Anthony Beaumont-Dark, Tory MP for Birmingham Selly Oak — will press for an investigation at a meeting on Wednesday.

Mr Mitchell said yesterday that it looked as if the Government had been intent on rushing through the appointment of Mr Levene, a former personal adviser to the Defence Secretary, Mr Michael Heseltine.

Members of the committee are angry about the way the appointment was first made, without the approval of the

Civil Service Commissioners, and are concerned about the implications for Whitehall.

They are also bitter at the way the Government last week rejected virtually all its recommendations covering civil servants taking up jobs in the private sector, the reverse of the same coin, as Mr Mitchell put it.

The value of Mr Levene's appointment — he is getting a salary of £95,000 a year, double the Civil Service rate for the job — questions the usefulness of the decision, Mr Mitchell said.

Mr Gordon Brown, Labour MP for Dunfermline East, said yesterday that he had tabled questions to Mrs Thatcher asking her to name the 11 defence contractors tenders of which Mr Levene has been told he would not be able to advise on his new role.

It is believed that some of the companies are subsidiaries — including Alvis — of his former company, United Scientific Holdings.

Mr Heseltine has also asked Mrs Thatcher — who says she personally approves of the appointment — when she first met Mr Levene and why he was not considered suitable by the Civil Service Commissioners to receive a certificate of qualification.

On Thursday the Government is expected to publish a consultation document on Mr Levene's proposal to have office work in the Royal Navy dock yards at Rosyth and Devonport to private companies.

Mr Levene, who is believed to have had talks with about 20 companies, has suggested that private firms should be given a franchise to carry out repair work on warships.



Peter Levene—former special adviser to Mr Heseltine

Whitehall union ponders defiance of law

By John Ardill

Labour Correspondent

Civil servants will decide today whether to back down from a one-day strike next Monday or defy the Government's application for a restraining injunction and face the full rigours of the law.

Whichever way it steps, the Government's decision to use its employment legislation for the first time against its own employees in the Civil and Public Services Association, and the vote against a stoppage by the Civil Service Union, have further undermined what slight hope there was of a co-ordinated campaign of industrial action over this year's Civil Service pay claim.

Tomorrow all the unions in the public services meet at the TUC to consider plans for a broad front co-ordinated campaign in the next pay round. They have been talking co-ordination for several years, and this is probably the last realistic chance they have to make it happen.

There will continue to be some co-ordination of aims and probably increased co-ordination of propaganda. Industrial action is already being planned.

The key lies with the largest negotiating group involved, the local government manual workers, who have just accepted a 10-month deal which moves their settlement date from November 4 to September 1. A new date was sought because they felt their pace-setting position of the last year would be lost.

The annual round made it politically impossible for the employers to give them the special treatment that they have conceded they deserve.

The new date means that negotiations will begin almost a year after the last round. The employers have agreed to set up a joint working party in regrading and to allow from this and other adjustments in the conditions of service that the unions hope to get a substantial increase to start them towards their aim of a minimum wage equal to two-thirds national average earnings — the TUC low pay target.

But the unions do not expect to get it without a fight. Under the skilful leadership of Mr John Edmunds, public services officer of the General Municipal and Boilermakers Union, who took charge of the manual workers' negotiations in 1983, they have been preparing the ground carefully.

In the two years of negotiations the employers have admitted that the 900,000 manual workers have fallen behind comparatively and absolutely, and deserve special treatment. That concession, and this year's deal which gives increases of between 4.7 and 5.7 per cent, have begun to raise expectations and morale among the manual workers; the essential pre-conditions for a fight.

The employees will argue in the autumn, as they have in past years, that they cannot afford the increase their workers deserve. It will then be time to put that argument to the public test through a dispute. Selective strikes by areas are likely.

After the experience of the miners, and the CPSE, the unions can be expected to keep within the law by strike ballots, and to use publicity to win the popular argument.

A local government manual workers' dispute is about due, given the regular cycle of strikes in this area, and the time is ripe. Some relaxation of local government finance is expected next winter, making a catch-up settlement more feasible.

So what of co-ordination? The civil servants have probably missed their chance this year. The National Health Service will get special settlements.

The nurses' review body, due to report soon, will probably make another holding operation award of around 6 per cent, and the health authorities have been given a growth money which will accommodate going-rate settlements for others.

So unless the teachers are still in dispute, the local government manual workers are likely to go it alone in the autumn. Aiming to get a substantial settlement either directly, or — following the historical pattern — through a special inquiry. The best the civil servants, teachers, and health workers can hope to do is gear up to emulate them by a joint confrontation in the spring.



MEETING OF MINDS: Jonathan Porritt, the leader of Britain's Ecology Party and Petra Kelly, the head of the 27 Green MPs in the West German parliament, share the platform during the second congress of the European Greens at Dover, which ended yesterday. Walter Schwarz, page 17.

Police relations suffer setback after chief's Washington visit

By Alan Dunn

Relations between Labour-controlled Merseyside County Council and the police, which had been slowly improving since the Toxteth riots of 1981, have suffered a sharp setback.

Mr Kenneth Oxford, the chief constable, may face calls for his dismissal tomorrow when the county's police committee meets to discuss his claim to be dismissed in not telling it of his government mission to discuss police tactics in Washington last week.

When he did not turn up at last week's meeting, the chairwoman, Mrs Margaret Simey, said that in 23 years as a councillor she had never known such behaviour. One councillor said Mr Oxford has been arrogant and contemptuous of the committee.

The rupture comes just as the committee, in its final year under government plans to abolish the county, is poised to use new financial powers, unlocked unwittingly by Whitehall to persuade the chief constable to adopt more community policing by putting more uniformed men back on the streets.

Mrs Simey says that finance will now become the instrument of political control in winning effective policing by public consent. This stems from the conflict between the Treasury and other Government departments.

Police budgets have normally been a matter of horse trading between a chief constable and the Home Office, which pays half the bill.

This year, the Department of the Environment, under orders from Mrs Thatcher to cut public spending, has entered the ring. At rate-capped Merseyside, it says, apparently with Treasury backing, that the agreed Home Office budget of more than £100 million should be cut by £12 million or face grant penalties.

The county says that it has had to put forward the need to win over without a formal budget but within a spending limit for next year of £213 million.

According to Mrs Simey this means a challenge to the autonomy of chief constables, who will now have to take their place alongside councils' other services for a share of the money.

The shifting of power from the police to elected members is good for the democratic system, she says. "At the moment bureaucrats and professional managers have too much control over political policy. We are not trying to take anything away from the police but to develop accountability."

The new mood was seen last week when the committee, under orders from the council's review body to seek economies, ignored police protests and cut vehicle numbers. A survey last year found that people wanted most to see the police enforcing the law, with more men in uniform walking



Mrs Margaret Simey—challenge to police autonomy

the beat. Taking away the wheels would increase the opportunity to return men to the streets, said Mrs Simey.

"In no way do we want direct operational control but we do want our policies, based on the wishes of the people, to be adopted," she says. The issue came down to asking how far elected lay councillors ought to be able to control policing.

"We would like as a committee to give the public what they want. This means a drastic redeployment of manpower, which is always painful, but unless we can have partnership, a style of policing that we pioneered could face chaos."

Fianna Fail to debate security

From Joe Joyce

in Dublin

The Irish opposition party, Fianna Fail, is to debate a possible withdrawal of the Republic's police and troops from the border at its annual conference this week.

Motions from 45 branches urge the redeployment of the security forces to fight the growing wave of crime and vandalism in the Republic's cities. The move is also indicative of a hardening of attitudes within the party towards Britain's policies on Northern Ireland.

The issue of law and order—topical because of an outbreak of joy-riding in Dublin—is expected to be the main issue at the conference which opens on Friday. Politically, the party hopes to use it to launch its local elections campaign.

Concern in the party at the Irish Government's approach to Northern Ireland—and at the approach of its own previous administration—is also apparent from other resolutions.

One proposes a review of the party's attitude towards Anglo-Irish relations and suggests a campaign among other Common Market countries to underline the cost to the Republic of partition. Another seeks an end to the extradition of terrorist suspects.

The cost of border security to the Republic is proportional to much greater than the cost of the Northern troubles is to Britain.

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The party leader, Mr Charles Haughey, is expected to devote central parts of his conference address to Northern Ireland and to law and order.

Pay offer ultimatum to railmen

By John Ardill

Labour Correspondent

Railmen are being warned that their pay offer, to be decided in the next few days, depends on a return to normal after pit dispute disruptions cost £240 million in lost freight business.

The British Rail chairman Mr Bob Reid, in an article in the railways board newspaper Railways, denies that the offer will be 2 per cent. But he warns "no-one's expectations should be high."

He tells the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and the National Union of Railwaymen which blocked coal movements during the pits strike that the board must reward the loyalty of white collar staff. They cooperated in the removal of an entire level of management and the closure of 21 divisional offices.

He says it is important to finalise continuing negotiations on productivity — which the manual unions want separating from pay — to make the board competitive.

The changes sought will not put anyone out of work, Mr Reid says. The industry's retirement rate over the next five years means it will be hard pressed to recruit the 25,000 new people needed to run the business.

"Two things will help towards a pay settlement, he says: "Getting the traffic moving again and doing all we can to restore customer confidence that the movement of their traffic by rail will not be disrupted again."

"I want to lead a railway industry that is prosperous and can afford to pay higher wages. The last way to achieve that is through a damaging conflict."

Suitable case for briefs

By Martin Wainwright

THE widespread suspicion that executive briefcases are really handbags in disguise has been borne out by a survey of their contents. Randomly-selected businessmen were stopped at airports and other busy places earlier this year and asked to divulge what they were carrying.

Inside most of the formal-looking black boxes lay the sort of jumble of easy-kick, knacks normally associated with a woman's handbag. Along with business papers — although 16 per cent weren't even carrying those — lay toothpaste, combs, alarm clocks, and so on.

Shoe-cleaning kits, a sort of male version of lipstick, were a popular item, especially separated from clean shirts. Newspapers were bundled in by 85 per cent of respondents, and keys were carried by 63 per cent, doubtless finding their way in the manner of all keys to an inaccessible corner at the bottom.

The most popular item of all, suggested that people take the word "briefcase" literally, was underwear, with 92 per cent remembering — or prompted by their wives — to put in their pants.

The survey was carried out for a leading briefcase manufacturer and carried one piece of reassuring news for their order book: briefcases remain a firm favourite in the difficult field of finding birthday presents for husbands and fathers. More than half those investigated proved to be gifts.

Peace vehicles vandalised

By a Staff Reporter

Police are investigating complaints that peace campaigners' vehicles were vandalised after being impounded during an attempt to recoup part of the proposed Molesworth cruise missile base in Cambridgeshire.

A mechanic, Mr Rex Ratcliffe, who was called in by the police, was struck by a coach and seriously injured while preparing to haul away a stranded peace vehicle on Friday night. A peace campaigner, aged 26, has been charged with reckless driving

and assault and will appear at Huntingdon magistrates' court today.

Mr Ratcliffe, who lives near Molesworth and is in his 50s was more comfortable at Hinchinbrook hospital, Huntingdon, last night, after an operation to remove his spleen and treatment for fractured ribs.

When peace campaigners collected four vehicles from a police pound at the weekend, they allegedly found mud in petrol tanks, severed wiring, and a prop shaft removed from a second world war towing vehicle.

Britain abandons its human rights lead

Malcolm Dean reports on the optimism despite UK objections at the European convention review

Britain's role in the European Convention on Human Rights has shown a dramatic shift between its creation 35 years ago and last week, when ministers from all 21 Council of Europe states carried out its first review.

In 1950, Britain provided the drafting lawyer, the supervising committee chairman and political leaders like Churchill, Macmillan and Bevin who had the clout to get the convention through the European consultative assembly and the cabinet.

In Vienna last week, Britain's two junior ministers who led the 10-member delegation, Sir Patrick Mayhew and Mr Timothy Renton, rejected every change, radical or moderate, and the UK was one

of the few countries that felt there was no issue of human rights of sufficient concern for it to raise.

West Germany was equally opposed to the radical reforms but put forward the need to consider the position of individuals caught by public administration decisions — social security, for example, or immigration — against which there was no appeal to the Court of Human Rights.

Britain stood out against a radical Swiss plan to merge the Commission of Human Rights and the court, and there was no UK support for increased legal aid, time limits to speed up procedure, reviewing the committee of the ministers' role or an optional protocol to permit states that support the idea of petitioners' direct access to the court to actually grant citizens such a right.

Sir Patrick made it plain that Britain wanted no change until the already approved "protocol eight" — allowing the commission to split into two chambers to reduce delays — has been evaluated. It is clear this cannot dramatically reduce the average of six years that cases take to decide. The ministerial meeting broke up with many divisions remaining but neither Mr Marcelino Oreja, the new secretary general of the Council of Europe, who warned of the weakening European commit-

ment to human rights, nor the commission officials were usually come but only by restructuring the institutions with another special protocol.

Despite the resistance of some states, including Britain, the ministers had met and been forced to take positions on the reforms proposed and, again despite the reluctance of the UK and others, there was a general willingness to consider change.

Radical proposals from Switzerland and Austria remain on the agenda and will be referred to an expert committee, 18 of the 21 states have signed protocol eight and the Swiss are planning a follow up conference next year.

Perhaps most important, the officials of the Strasbourg human rights directorate have a new secretary general determined to inject some dynamism into the Council of Europe which administers both court and commission.

Dynamism and patience will be needed, since none of the Strasbourg officials expect "protocol eight" — even quick victories — even protocol eight will take two years.

Legal aid will have to be reviewed again. At present it is derisory and only becomes available after a government has been asked to comment on a case. For petitioners to have equal access to the court, it will have to be increased and be available earlier.

The time limits urged on the commission by human rights organisations, such as Amnesty

International, Justice and Interights, will probably eventually come but only by restructuring the institutions with another special protocol.

The Committee of Ministers' role has certainly become anomalous. All commission reports go to the committee before being referred to the court. It made sense 30 years ago when many member states did not accept the courts jurisdiction but all countries except Turkey and Malta — now comply.

The human rights organisations have also suggested that commission reports become binding after three months if they are not referred to the court, and want an end to the system allowing the Committee of Ministers, a political body, a judicial role in commission reports against states seeing if the facts constitute a convention violation.

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OBITUARY

Architect of rail shake-up

A POPULAR newspaper wrote of Lord Beeching's appointment as British Rail chairman in March, 1962: "He came out of personal obscurity yesterday into a blazing political row — the man from East Grinstead whose name will be in the headlines over and over again. Make a note of it — Dr Richard Beeching."

He had long been Lord Beeching when he died at the age of 71 from a heart condition, in East Grinstead, West Sussex.

He was in the headlines long after ceasing to be British Rail chairman in 1965. His memory reverberates among mourners of quiet country railway stations as well as among students of brisk post-war attempts to modernise Britain.

Lord Beeching's attempt, as architect of the 1963 Beeching plan, was one of the first and most drastic, and he was always bitter that his "scientific free enterprise technique for running a state service" was not allowed to go further. The plan demanded the closure of 5,000 of BR's then 17,600 route miles, and 2,300 stations of the then 4,709.

He was brought in by the Conservative government to diagnose and carry out this surgical removal in terms of passenger and freight patterns — at a "Himalayan" salary of £24,000 after being a brilliant ICI technical director.

Thousands of lines, stations, and jobs were axed. But the 1967 Labour government announced a basic stabilised rail network of 11,000 miles — less than recommended in the first phase of Beeching's report but 3,000 more than in the second phase.

His reputation as axeman was "an injustice I still suffer in history. His widow, Baroness Beeching, spoke at the weekend of his unfair press treatment. He had made vast improvements which are appreciated today."

Richard Beeching son, of a journalist got a first in physics at Imperial College London, and worked at a high level in armaments research during the war developing a fast-fire heavy anti-aircraft gun. He joined ICI in 1948 and in 1953 commissioned its first transatlantic "Perylene" plant and rationalised its metals division.

After his term at BR he served as deputy chairman of ICI as chairman of both Furness and Withy and Redland and as board member of the Top Salaries Review Body. He once said his greatest virtue was that "I am resistant to delusion" by established thought. He had no children.

Concern in the party at the Irish Government's approach to Northern Ireland—and at the approach of its own previous administration—is also apparent from other resolutions.

One proposes a review of the party's attitude towards Anglo-Irish relations and suggests a campaign among other Common Market countries to underline the cost to the Republic of partition. Another seeks an end to the extradition of terrorist suspects.

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NEWS
IN BRIEF

Sports
fields 'in
jeopardy'

HUNDREDS of sports fields in England and Wales are threatened with closure and sale to the highest bidder because of a "ruthless" policy by local authorities, the Central Council for Physical Recreation warns today.

It has published a register of 372 sports fields which, it says, have been earmarked as "surplus to requirements" by town halls and education authorities which are anxious to sell them.

In the High Court today, parents will try to prevent Runnymede council in Surrey selling a playing field near where the Magna Carta was signed.

Mr Peter Lawson, the general secretary of the CCPR, said: "Surely it is absurd for the Government to be speculating upon the staging of an Olympic games when, at the same time, they are doing their best to sell off a British sporting heritage."

"Surely we have reached rock bottom when a group of concerned parents will appear in the High Court today in a bid to prevent Runnymede council selling the playing field, the custodian of the focal point of British democracy — from selling off prime sports land at this historic site."

He added: "We shall demand that renewed consideration be given to the sports fields and recreational facilities bill, which was drafted by the CCPR and introduced by Mr John Carlisle MP."

Baby's body :
three charged

THREE people are to appear in court in Birmingham today after police found the body of a two-year-old in a shallow grave.

A man and a woman have been charged with the murder of Gemma Hartwell and another man has been charged with concealing the body and preventing an inquest. Her parents reported her disappearance on Saturday saying she was out with a friend when she was last seen. Police mounted a huge search and the body was discovered in a grave outside the city centre.

IRA arms
haul found

IRISH police yesterday found IRA guns, ammunition and other equipment at a farm house near Killybegs in County Mayo, believed to be the centre of a training base.

Behind a secret wall panel, searchers found eight rifles, bullets, four walkie-talkie sets, an unaddressed letter bomb, timing devices and training details written on the back of election posters published by Sinn Féin, the IRA's political wing.

Liver transplant
doctors defiant

BRITAIN'S youngest liver transplant patient, three-year-old Ben Hardwick, died at Addenbrooke's hospital, Cambridge, at the weekend.

His operation last year followed an appeal for a donor on the BBC television programme That's Life. A spokesman for Addenbrooke's said yesterday: "His death won't affect the liver transplant programme for children or anyone else."

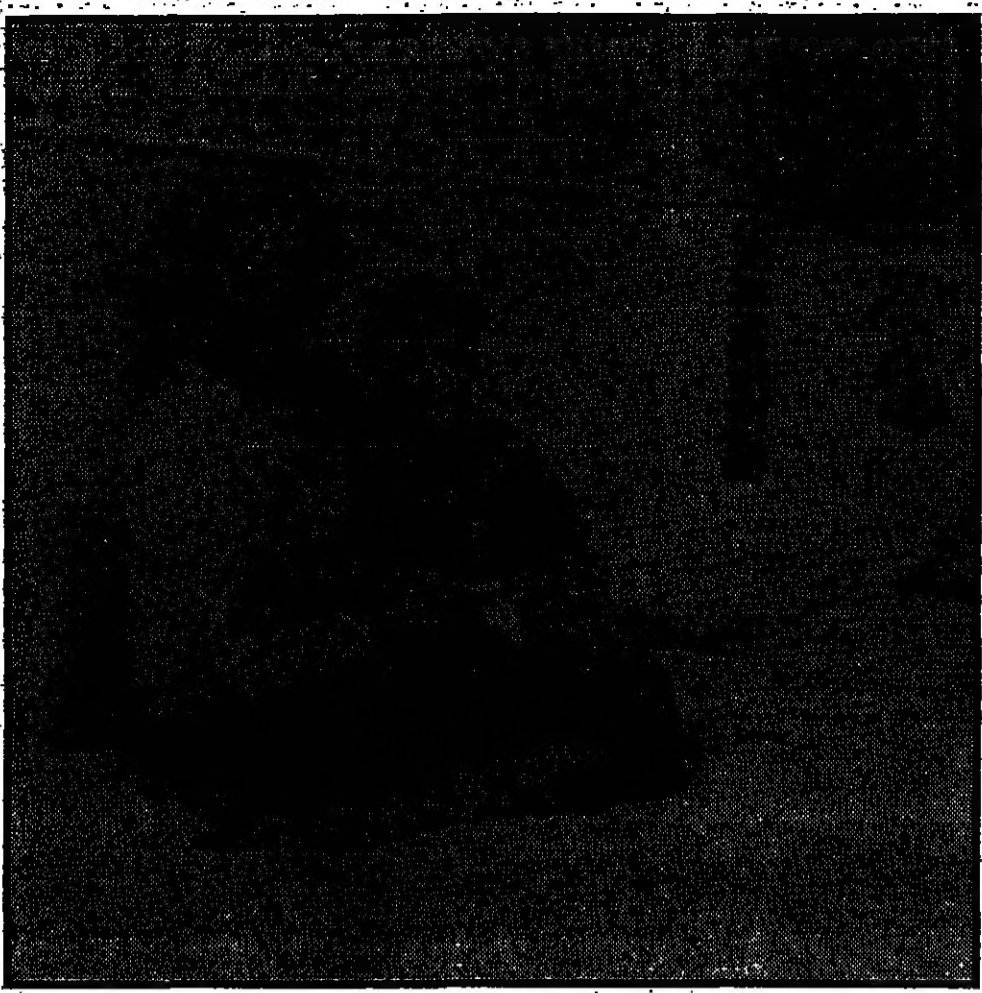
Hunt for rapist

DETECTIVES yesterday launched a hunt for a sex attacker who raped a 10-year-old girl in a hotel room at Markyate near Hemel Hempstead. Police want to contact all the 400 guests, including those attending a masquerade function, at the Hertfordshire Moat House Hotel on Saturday night. "This was a sickening attack," said a police spokesman.

Victim of IRA

A BODY found at Ballinacollig, Co Cork, in the Irish Republic last night was believed to be that of a local man, Mr John Cochrane, aged 45, who was thought to have been the victim of an IRA punishment squad.

Mugging victim forced to live in 'squalid' hotel



Helen Southwood and son, Ernest in their £200-a-week 'noisy and smelly' room

HELEN Southwood is disabled after being mugged and she became homeless after quarrelling with the GLC about her council flat in Tower Hamlets.

She now lives in a £200-a-week room paid for by the ratepayers of Tower Hamlets. Mrs Southwood, her husband, Bernard, and their two-year-old son, Ernest, stay in the Sandringham Hotel in Lancaster Gate. They are estimated to be one of 900 families crammed into the Bayswater area of London by councils which have no homes to offer.

Many people are living in squalid conditions and "compounding the problems faced by doctors, health visitors, social workers, and teachers."

The Sandringham Hotel is a six-storey terraced house only yards from Kensington Gardens. About 19 families from Tower Hamlets, and 16 from Brent live in the hotel, even though environmental health officers from both boroughs say they are unhappy about conditions there.

The hotel receives £5,000 a week from Tower Hamlets and £3,000 from Brent. Westminster council recently placed a management order on the premises after a visit from its environmental health inspectors.

Mr A.M. Norton, the chief environmental health officer for Brent council, says:

Health officials condemn the overcrowded and insanitary conditions in which hundreds of London families are living. David Hencke investigates and looks at the high cost to ratepayers

"The Sandringham was unsuitable for use by homeless families due to inadequate food preparation facilities, lack of hot water, inadequate ventilation to bathrooms and WCs, overcrowding, and poor management."

His detailed report, compiled after a visit last month, says that water tanks were contaminated by pigeons; gas boilers were broken; there was an outbreak of infectious disease, rising damp, and dirty cookers used by 120 people.

Mrs Southwood said during a visit to the hotel with Brent councillors: "I try and stay out of the place all day, even if we just go for a walk in Hyde Park or visit a museum. The conditions here are appalling."

"It is noisy, smelly and there is no hot water. I wrote to Mr Newton (the minister for the disabled) all about it. He did not reply."

The Guardian tried to contact the managing director of the hotel, Mr Z. Jetha. A spokesman, who was given the details of our inquiry, said he was not available.

A similar picture emerged

at two other hotels nearby.

A Brent inspector's report on the Marco Polo, which houses 500 people, said: "Whilst the exterior of the hotel looked impressive and luxurious, behind the reception area the premises took on a different air. The inspectors' impression was one of long, rambling, confusing corridors with large numbers of children of all ages roaming around them."

The kitchen for 500 people was described as "totally inadequate" for the cooking needs... the windows were filthy and some glazing was broken, with a light well choked with rubbish and food debris."

The inspector's verdict was: "Premises unsuitable and should only be used on an emergency basis."

Mrs Mina Padamey, the manager of the hotel, when asked about conditions there, said: "How dare you come into this hotel without asking my permission? I get very angry when people come in with councillors and start talking to other people without our knowledge. We have nothing to hide. People

don't realise the problems hoteliers have looking after these families."

She said she had planned to undertake improvements but did not receive large sums of money to look after people on social security.

The Coway Court Hotel seemed to be in a better condition, but similar problems were found. Some families had been there for 23 months waiting for a council house.

Mr John Mordecai, a Brent councillor who regularly inspects the hotels with a team of councillors, said: "We know we are sending families to live in these conditions, but what can we do?"

"Since we can no longer build council houses and many existing are being sold off, the waiting list for this emergency accommodation just gets longer and longer."

Pictures of the conditions in the hotels were shown to Mr Tony Newton, the social security minister, whose department meets a substantial amount of the bill.

He said: "The Department of Health is not directly responsible for any of the accommodation. Social security is worked out on peoples' circumstances and their needs. It is a matter for local authorities what they do."

"I am sure many local authorities must have empty council houses they could use for these people. I do hope that social security officers, if they receive complaints, might look into this."

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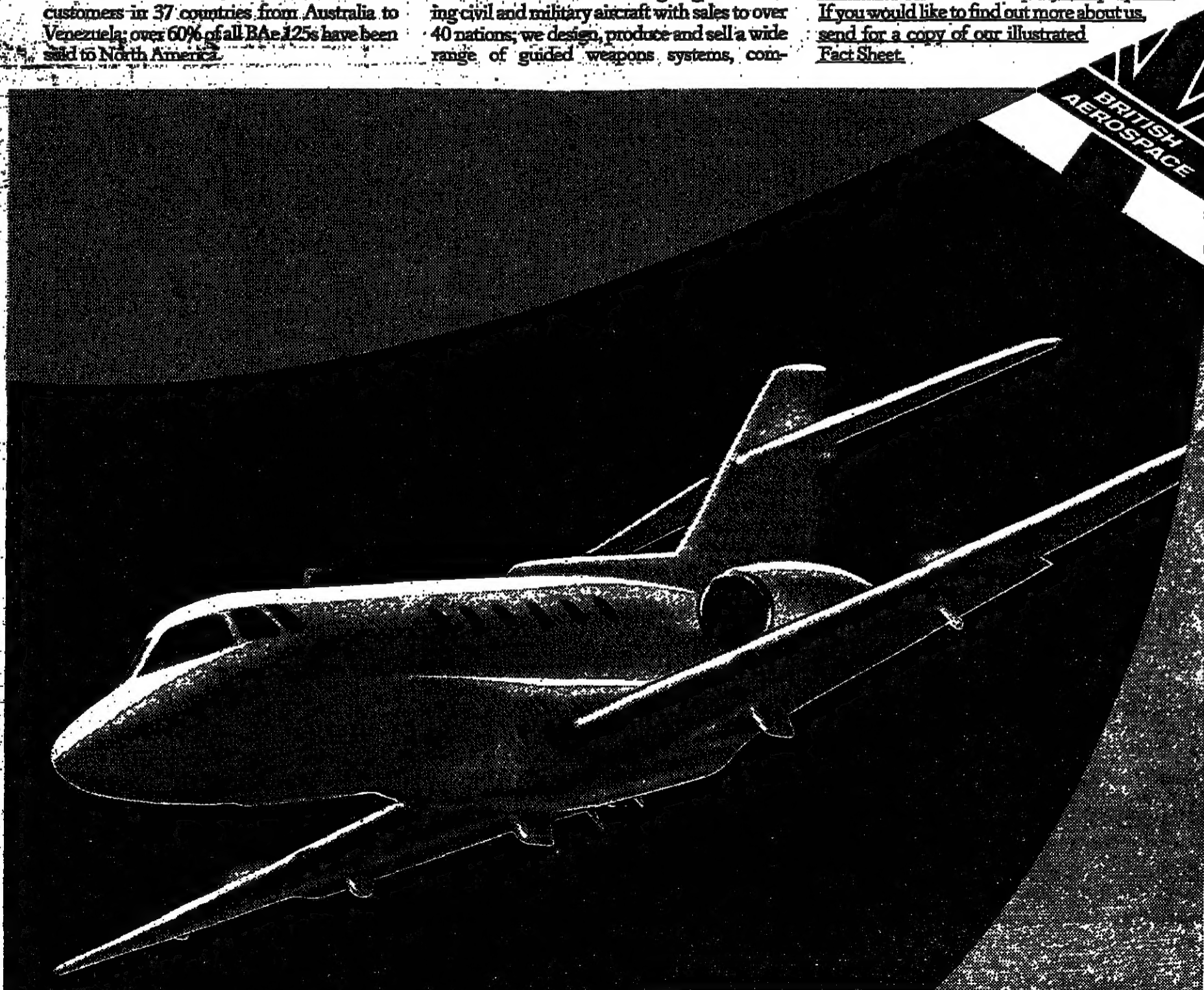
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The Guardian
at Dickens & Jones
See Personal Page
for details

Ministers under fire as angry Tories tell Government to tackle system's faults or risk losing next election

Conservative councillors attack rates reform delay



By Peter Hetherington, Northern Political Correspondent

Tory councillors have told senior ministers that failure to tackle the inequalities of the rates system will cost Conservatives the next election.

At the party's central council meeting in Newcastle upon Tyne at the weekend, they also warned that Tory councils were being penalised after keeping within spending guidelines.

The local government minister, Mr Kenneth Baker, was taken aback by the criticism from councillors who have been the strongest supporters of the Government's rate-capping.

He pledged that Environment Department studies on Kenneth Baker — 'studies are already underway'

reforming local government finance would be presented to the Cabinet by the early summer but gave no indication when the critics could expect action.

Mr Bill Sharp, Conservative leader of Castle Point council in Essex, said that the patience of some authorities — subject to "blatantly unfair treatment" — was wearing thin.

Many district councils had one arm cut off by reductions in rate support grant and another by capital spending restrictions. The Government, elected by a massive majority, needed an "injection of faith."

The strongest criticism came from councillors in Scotland, where a recent rating revaluation — leading to substantial increases for householders this year — brought a storm of protest from the senior Tories.

Mrs Rosemary Ferrand, from Perth and Kinross Conservative Association, warned that she represented an "endangered species" — Scottish Conservative councillors.

"If we are not protected we will soon be extinct," she said. "I hope you will agree we are a species worth preserving, but to our dismay our Conservative Government takes a different view."

At a regional council byelection at Troon, in Ayrshire, last week, Labour overturned a large Conservative majority to gain another seat on Strathclyde regional council.

Mr Joseph Highgate, secretary of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Association, spoke of a political explosion: "I have never known such a spontaneous and hostile reaction, particularly from our own

supporters... members are sending out danger signals."

Failure to solve the rating problem could "seal the fate of the Government," and he called for immediate action to reform the rating system, which could take the form of pilot legislation in Scotland. A mere promise of legislation would be treated with the "utmost cynicism," he added.

Newcastle city council's Conservative group leader, Mr Bert Moore, warned that if the Government failed to tackle the rates problem, it would be out at the next election: "I am certain of that."

Mr Baker, who said he would convey the anxiety to the Scottish Secretary, Mr George Younger, acknowledged that the system of local council finance needed overhauling. Department of the Environment studies were well in hand and would examine the

accountability of councillors to the electorate in inner cities. "The link, my friends, between the rate demand and the ballot box is wearing very thin," he claimed.

In many areas, Mr Baker said, the business rate constituted 40 per cent of the total rates paid although in some boroughs, notably Camden, in London, it amounted to 64 per cent.

"Small businesses do not feel they are participating in decision-making which results in them bearing such a high local tax," he added. "The object of my studies is to re-establish true local accountability and responsibility."

The Government faced more criticism over the apparent desire of the Transport Secretary, Mr Nicholas Ridley, to site a third London airport at Stanstead.

Most speakers in a debate on regional policy wanted the air-

port sited in the North for jobs and correct an imbalance with the South-east.

The industry minister, Mr Norman Lamont, promised to relay the concern to the Government.

Some representatives to the central council meeting were clearly unimpressed with the stout defence of last week's budget by the Prime Minister and the Chancellor.

Several resolutions — not selected for debate — were deeply critical of the Government's attitude towards unemployment.

Dr Peter Price, opposition leader on Cleveland County Council — whose local Conservative association is critical of Government economic policy — said he felt many northern Tories favoured a relaxation of the current tight monetary control to help ease unemployment.

African link raises Aids fear

By Andrew Veitch, Medical Correspondent

Department of Health officials have not checked the sources of the plasma from which blood products supplied by American firms are made, despite allegations by a leading blood specialist that contaminated plasma was responsible for the Aids outbreak.

A spokesman said: "This is the responsibility of the US Food and Drug Administration. I have no basic information on what inquiries are made here."

Dr Peter Jones, director of the Newcastle upon Tyne haemophilia centre, suggested in the British Medical Journal that the Aids virus originally spread from central Africa, where it is endemic, to west-erners with no natural protection against the disease through blood plasma bought in Africa and sold to drug companies.

Plasma agencies operated in the late 1970s in Kinshasa, capital of Zaïre and the centre of the African Aids epidemic, and Port-au-Prince, Haiti, where the first western cases of Aids were diagnosed in 1981.

The long incubation period of the fatal disease — four years or more in some cases — matches the timescale for the outbreak in the US.

Dr Jones believes that haemophiliacs — including three in Britain — may have contracted the disease from this source, and not, as previously thought, from blood products made from plasma bought from US homosexuals.

The position was so serious, Dr Jones said, that this information ought to be made public. But the Department of Health has so far refused to do so.

One of the leading blood product importers, Travenol, has promised an investigation into the sources of plasma in the 70s. The firm's general manager in Britain, Mr Jack McGinley, said: "All the plasma we use comes from the States. None comes from Africa. We would not be willing to publish the sources because it is an extremely competitive market."

Dr Tony Pinching, a member of the Department of Health's Aids advisory group, called for an investigation into Dr Jones's theory. "It is an important and plausible hypothesis which we need to explore," he said.

Defiant Owen answers critics of hard line on miners' strike

By Paul Hoyland, Welsh Correspondent

Dr David Owen stamped his authority on the Social Democratic Party's annual Welsh assembly at the weekend with a declaration that he was not afraid to support policies that were labelled "Thatcherite."

He dismissed speculation that he was entering the lion's den after recent criticism from the Welsh party hierarchy that he appeared to be leaning heavily towards the Tories.

In particular, the SDP leader's hard line on the miners' strike was not well received in the valleys, mining communities and alarmed some members of the party's Council for Wales wanting a more centre left approach.

Dr Owen forcefully told the assembly in Tenby, Dyfed, that his strategy had been proved correct. "We are the only ones who can hold our heads up high."

He denounced the "Marxist and Communist" miners leaders who had set pit against pit and man against man. There had been persistent violence on the picket lines and it was essential to safeguard democracy under the rule of law.

"If you tell me that's Thatcherite, so what. I tell you bluntly that I am not going to be put in a position by anyone

that I have to apologise for saying that some things this government does are right or wrong," he said.

Dr Owen, who unsuccessfully opposed the joint selection agreement reached between the Alliance parties in Wales, said he would continue to maintain the SDP's separate identity.

He told a press conference that a joint Welsh SDP/Lib-

DR OWEN is finding it "irksome and difficult" to adjust to the frustrations of minority party politics, according to his Liberal counterpart, Mr David Steel.

In an assessment of the relative strengths of the two Alliance's leaders for BBC Scotland's Seven Days yesterday he denied that Dr Owen was the dominant partner.

eral conference in Cardiff on unemployment was within the constitution but he did not foresee a joint national conference.

He advised reporters to consult the grass roots about his standing among Welsh members. "The trouble is that the voices you are hearing in Wales are the voices of the officers and I don't think the voice of the party has come

through as yet," he said. "There is a hell of a lot of people who are only surprised that I have not put the boot in. The members must determine whether they are happy with the conduct of their leaders. It is not for me to say."

Mr Gwynor Jones, the retiring SDP chairman in Wales who has questioned Dr Owen's style of leadership, told the assembly that the Council for Wales had taken collective decisions on all major issues. "It has not just been the president or the chairman's response," he said.

Mr Tom Ellis, the president of the party in Wales, warned that the national leadership would have to become far more radical. There should be an absolute commitment to introduce proportional representation and devolve substantial power to the regions.

"There is little hope for Britain unless the constitutional issues are tackled as a matter of top priority," he said.

When the Welsh Council decided on a joint conference there were noises against the proposal. "What charade, what cynical game is somebody playing?" He said. "What Machiavellian plot is someone up to? Are we an Alliance or aren't we?"

Sanctuary couple plea by bishop

By Martin Wainwright

The Church of England has made a further intervention on behalf of Vassilis and Katerina Nicola, two Greek Cypriots threatened with deportation who have taken sanctuary in a London church.

The Bishop of London, Dr Graham Leonard, has written to the Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, appealing for a reconsideration of the decision to return the couple to Cyprus.

The Nicolas were forced out of their home when the Turks invaded northern Cyprus. The Home Office, in a ruling later upheld by the High Court, refused to recognise them as refugees on the grounds that they had relatives and the possibility of a home in the south of the island.

Dr Leonard, who is considered a conservative in church circles, acted after discussions with London's four junior bishops. One of them, the Bishop of Edmonton, the Right Reverend William Westwood, had unsuccessful talks with the immigration minister, Mr David Waddington, last week.

The Nicolas have been living in a side-alley of St Mary's, Easton, for 26 days with the support of the vicar, the Rev Philip Dyson, and the congregation.



CLOISTERED EXISTENCE: Vassilis and Katerina Nicola in their temporary church home

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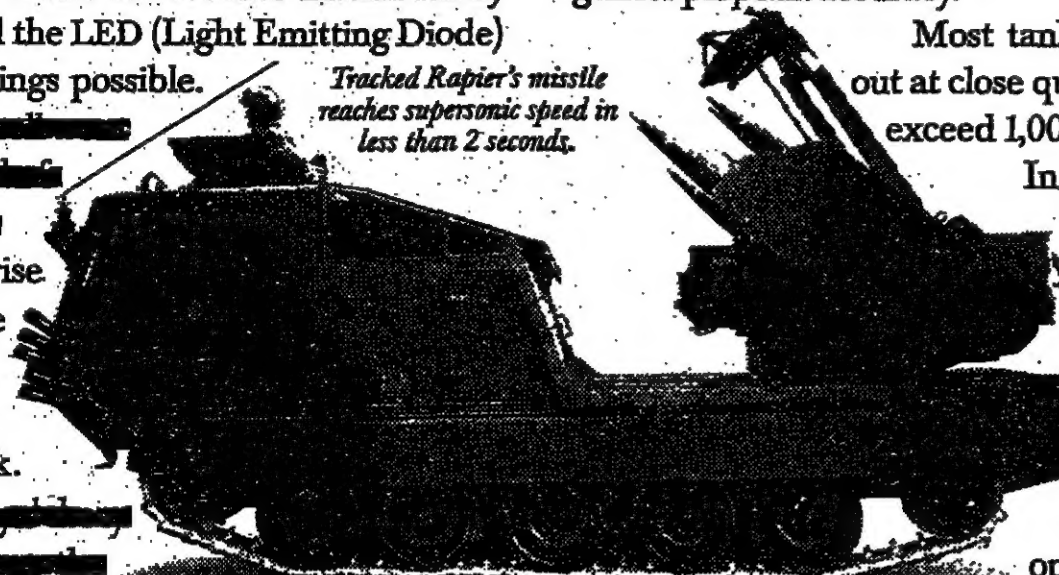
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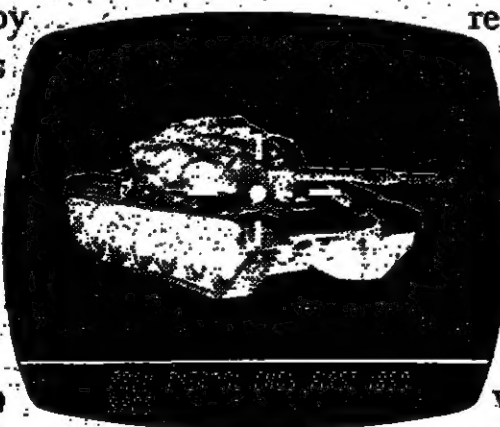
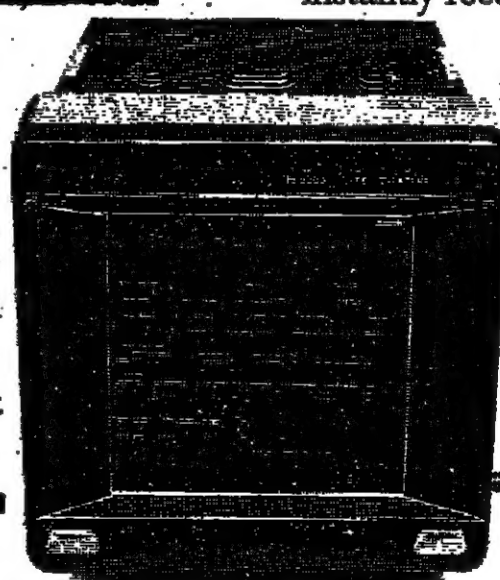
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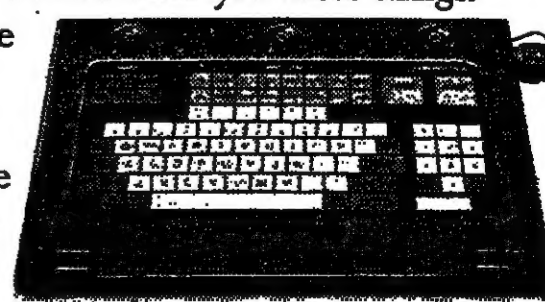
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Castro upset by Soviet approaches to US

Moscow 'weakness' on Managua strains relations with Cuba

By Dusko Doder in Moscow

A serious strain is reported to have developed in Soviet-Cuban relations about what President Castro views as Moscow's weak and indecisive response to US pressure on Nicaragua.

Eastern European sources said that the Cuban leader felt both frustrated and annoyed at conciliatory approaches by the late Soviet president, Konstantin Chernenko, to the US. Moscow has reacted to a series of public pronouncements aimed at the left-wing Government in Managua, including a comment by President Reagan last month that in effect said he was seeking the removal of the Sandinistas from office.

President Castro failed to attend Mr Chernenko's funeral this month, presumably to register his displeasure with Soviet policy toward Nicaragua. He also did not sign the book of condolences at the Soviet embassy in Havana.

The Cuban leader attended the funeral of Chernenko's two predecessors, Yuri Andropov and Leonid Brezhnev. His brother, Raul, represented Cuba at Chernenko's funeral.

Mr Gorbachev met Mr Raul Castro on Wednesday for talks which, according to an official communiqué, passed in the spirit of "fraternal friendship, cordiality and full mutual understanding." Raul Castro, who is Cuba's Vice-President and Defence Minister, had conferred earlier with Marshal Sergei Sokolov, the Soviet Defence Minister, and other senior officials here.

Sources here said that President Castro was profoundly annoyed with Mr Chernenko last

March when the Soviet leader refused to allow a Soviet naval flotilla to approach Nicaraguan waters. The flotilla was on its way to Nicaragua when a Soviet tanker was severely damaged by a mine at the entrance to Nicaragua's Pacific harbour of Puerto Sandino.

According to the sources, Dr Castro was turned down when he urged Moscow to have the flotilla proceed to Nicaragua to signal Soviet military backing for the Sandinistas.

In another incident, US television networks quoted Washington sources last autumn as saying that Soviet Mig-21 jet fighters were heading to Nicaragua. But Moscow sent no such jets, limiting its aid to several tanks and helicopter gunships.

The Russians have been extremely reluctant to project their power so far away from their territory. Instead, they apparently have decided to try to relieve the US pressure on Managua by signalling to the US Administration that they can inflict damage on US interests closer to Soviet borders.

Reports in well-informed Soviet circles recently have suggested that the new Soviet leadership was now considering unspecified actions against Pakistan, an American ally, in case of a direct US military move against the Sandinistas.

This view was reinforced by a report of the meeting between Mr Gorbachev and President Zia ul Haq of Pakistan, who was here for the funeral of Chernenko, according to Tass. Mr Gorbachev sharply criticised Pakistan for supporting the "aggressive actions" mounted on its territory against Afghanistan, a Soviet ally, and warned General Zia that his

policy "cannot but affect in the most negative way Soviet-Pakistani relations".

There is little doubt that Moscow would become militarily engaged if there was a threat to Cuba, which is the most important physical and political bridgehead for Soviet influence in Latin America. But in general terms, the Russians tend to see the rest of Latin America much as Americans see Eastern Europe. Moscow recognises that the US is the dominant power in Latin America. But the Russians also realise that any weakening of US political and economic influence in the region becomes an important factor in the global competition between the superpowers. Anti-Americanism in Latin America thus is as important for Moscow as anti-Soviet sentiment in Eastern Europe is for Washington.

President Castro's commitment to the Sandinistas according to Western diplomats here, seems to be far more ideological than Moscow's. Chernenko's decision to have the Soviet flotilla return home instead of proceeding to Nicaragua was apparently taken by President Castro as a sign that Moscow's leadership was now considering unspecified actions against Pakistan, an American ally, in case of a direct US military move against the Sandinistas.

The hints of Moscow linking Nicaragua to Pakistan and its support of Muslim rebels fighting the Soviet-supported Afghan Government, to place both issues in a new context. It is possible, some observers here speculate, that the new Soviet leadership plans to get tough with General Zia in an effort to stop Afghan rebel activities on Pakistani soil. — Washington Post.

Bolivian strike at an end

La Paz: A 16-day-long general strike that led President Hernán Siles Zuazo to deploy the army in the capital and cost the country an estimated \$140 million ended at the weekend when the trade unions accepted the Government's latest offer.

The Labour Federation said, through church intermediaries, that it would accept a proposal to raise the minimum wage from \$18.70 a month to about \$80 — an increase of 232 per cent. The federation had been demanding increases of 500 per cent in addition to the installation of a Socialist workers' government, price controls, the resignation of the President and the nationalisation of banks and mines.

These latter demands were not granted, it was understood. A federation spokesman said that workers would be satisfied with the new pact provided the Government kept its pledges to control inflation and ensure adequate food supplies. Otherwise, he warned, a new strike might be called.

The strike, the longest since democracy returned to Bolivia over two years ago, shut down banks, mines, factories, most businesses, public transport, all long distance communications, public hospitals and government offices. Because of the strike, Congress decided this week to postpone presidential elections from June 18 to July 14.

Romero protest demands justice

From Paul Kilman in San Salvador

Thousands of Salvadoreans, among them a few left-wing guerrillas, marched through the streets yesterday to mark the fifth anniversary of the assassination of the Archbishop, Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

The marchers packed the ramshackle cathedral here where the prelate delivered many of the impassioned pleas for the poor and oppressed, which eventually cost him his life.

The anniversary threatened to add to the embarrassment of the Government, headed by President Jose Napoleon Duarte, whose Defence Minister, General Carlos Vides Casanova, was last week implicated in the assassination.

Speaking to an estimated 5,000, the present Archbishop of San Salvador, Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, said: "We are still waiting for his body to be cleared up and the guilty to be punished."

In an apparent rebuke to the Government, Monsignor Rivera y Damas said there could be no peace in El Salvador

unless the killing was investigated. Guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front had said they would attend the mass and a small group of young men with concealed faces apparently carrying weapons in bags, was among the marchers.

The former leader of Salvadoran military intelligence, Colonel Roberto Santivanez, said in Washington last week that the killing was ordered by a group of officers which included General Vides Casanova and Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, the political spokesman of the extreme right.

The officer who sponsored the careers of both General Vides Casanova and Major D'Aubuisson was assassinated on the northern outskirts of the capital on Saturday.

The victim of the latest political killing was General Jorge Alberto Medrano, who in the mid-1960s founded a rural movement called Orden, which eventually became an instrument of oppression and spawned the death squads.

Contras 'hit hospitals'

New York: The US-backed

rebels fighting against Nicaragua have destroyed medical facilities and killed doctors and nurses in a campaign to terrorise the rural population, the Central American Health Rights Network says.

The group charged that 63 health units have been destroyed or forced to close be-

cause of Contra attacks.

"Based on my direct observation, it's rather incredible that President Reagan could refer to the Contras as freedom fighters or as the moral equivalent of our founding fathers," Dr David Siegel, an associate director at San Francisco general hospital, said.

Community in gruelling run-up to summit

From Derek Brown in Brussels

RARELY in the busy field of international EEC conflict have so many ministers been called upon to defend so many national interests in such a short space of time.

The exercise starts today with the opening of a three-day meeting of agriculture ministers. Tomorrow, industry ministers get their turn. On Wednesday the Italian Foreign Minister will be hard at it with his Spanish and Portuguese counterparts. On Thursday and on Friday, all the Community foreign ministers will be here.

Half-way through Friday, topping off a spectacular outpouring of European rhetoric, the ten national leaders will arrive for the EEC summit. Two issues will dominate. They are the perennial battle

to control spending on the Common Agricultural Policy, and the last chance to shoe-horn Spain and Portugal into the Community at the start of next year.

The three-day farm ministers' council — which could stretch into four days, and is indeed almost certain to spill over into next week — is likely to produce the most verbal violence. At issue is the EEC Commission's plan to freeze farm prices in the 1985-86 season, thus confining the CAP's cost to around £12 billion, or just over two-thirds of the entire Community budget.

Everyone wants the CAP to be brought to heel, but there is bitter disagreement on how, with every country busily explaining how the sectors most important to their own farm industries need special treatment.

Britain, for example, is in the forefront of the campaign to cut the CAP, but Mr Michael Jopling will be arguing fiercely against proposals to ban special aids to UK beef and sheep farmers.

The annual price-fixing shouting match is supposed to be completed by April 1. But this year the farm ministers and their entourages are gloomily contemplating yet another marathon round of talks, starting on All Fools' Day itself. As ministerial meetings in April are always held in Luxembourg, the hotel industry of the Grand Duchy is set for an unexpected Easter bonus.

Before the second main feature of the week — the accession talks with Spain and Portugal — there will be an important side-event when industry ministers discuss the

continuing problems of the Community steel industry. Their debate, taking in production quotas, prices, and state subsidies, will be long and hard.

The EEC foreign ministers must already be feeling more at home here than in their respective capitals. Last week they broke all records with five solid days of debate on the eight-year-old applications by Spain and Portugal to join the Community.

They got — and remain — tantalisingly close to final agreement on Thursday night when the applicant countries, states, were ready to sign a global agreement. Only France

The French want marginal changes in the proposed terms on wine and fisheries. Their objections, which took the

other weary negotiators by surprise, are thought to be connected with the Government's pressing political need to maintain favour in the eyes of the French farming and fishing electorate.

The Italian Foreign Minister, Mr Giulio Andreotti, who now holds the presidency of the Council of Ministers, will be holding talks with the Commission and with the Spanish and Portuguese foreign ministers on Wednesday.

He will be hoping and working for the French to be put under intolerable pressure to give way on the accession terms. For if the foreign ministers fail again, the hugely complex dossier will be dumped on to the summit agenda for the following day.



SPANISH PROTEST: a demonstrator, wearing a mask of President Reagan, joins a march from Madrid to a US air base 13 miles away to protest against Spain's membership of Nato.

Action on racialism planned

From Campbell Page in Paris

Anti-racist groups are taking action tomorrow with respect to an incident in the resort town of Menton in south-west France, where a Moroccan was shot dead and a young man from Martinique wounded by two locals who explained that they "did not like Arabs."

The collective for equal rights and against racism in the region said the attack had taken place "in a very definite climate, that of the region's cantonal elections, during which certain candidates did not hesitate to unleash racist feelings."

The people of Menton are being asked to demonstrate against racism tomorrow evening. A national organisation SOS Racism has asked its supporters in the schools to devote an hour to discussing the problem of racism tomorrow morning.

In Menton the authorities are apparently very sensitive about the shootings. Although it took place early on Thursday morning, and two men were taken into custody a few hours later, the police did not follow their usual practice of promptly releasing the names and photographs of the men.

The names have now been released: Yves Podolski, aged 27, a clerk in the Social Services Office and known as a collector of weapons and a man of extreme right-wing views, and Francis Piovano, aged 28, unemployed and already known to the police.

Mr Aziz Madak, a Moroccan cook, aged 28, was fatally wounded in the chest. Mr Jean-Luc Louis-Jean, an 18-year-old from Martinique, was shot three times.

Racialism is a particularly delicate subject here since the emergence of the extreme right National Front as a political force.

Strike cripples Denmark

Copenhagen: The biggest industrial conflict for 12 years yesterday resulted in 300,000 private sector employees striking or being locked out.

The dispute, which follows the breakdown of wage talks on Thursday, could cripple food and fuel supplies, transport, docks and wider sectors of manufacturing industry, if it continues.

Planes and ferries were among the first victims of the dispute. The Scandinavian airline, SAS, cancelled all flights to and from Denmark, small islands were cut off as ferries stopped and a hospital at Aalborg in northern Jutland sent hundreds of patients home. — Reuters.

Finnish Communist divisions widen

From Donald Fields in Helsinki

The Communist Party took another step towards splitting this weekend, when an extraordinary congress empowered the central committee to expel branches that flout party rules. A check on membership is also likely.

This means that the nationalist majority which gained almost complete control at last May's regular congress, will exclude the intransigent pro-Soviet minority from 34,000-strong party. Mr Arvo Aalto, the chairman of the party said that a final end to the divisions that have torn the party for 19 years must be achieved before the 1987 general election.

Each faction is accusing the other of causing the split. How quickly Mr Aalto operates, could be determined by the vote of the minority next Friday and of the Central Committee on May 4.

The minority's Soviet friends are presumably considering whether they can prevent the humiliating breakup of a once-industrial party. Communist Party strength has almost

halved to only an eighth of the electorate during the dispute.

Addressing the congress, Mr Aalto renewed his call for "socialism with a Finnish face," but more than normally favoured Soviet policy, criticised an "upsurge or writing in Finland offensive to the USSR."

This could have been motivated by a desire not to be branded "anti-Soviet," though the leader has recently been snubbed by Moscow. Party dictated by geography, this posture sets Mr Aalto and his disciples aside from classic Euro-Communists.

Mr Aalto said there was still a place in the Communist Party for all who abided by the rules, but it appeared the minority were set on excluding themselves and blaming the majority.

The Finnish Communist Party was founded in Moscow in 1918 and has been split between a Moscow-backed "Stalinist" wing and a "nationalist" majority since 1966, but both sides have so far avoided the responsibility for a formal break.

Papandreou certain of victory in vital ballot

From George Costas in Athens

The Government's candidate for the presidency obtained enough votes in a special parliamentary ballot at the weekend to ensure victory in Friday's vital third ballot.

Such a victory would remove the threat of a constitutional split being added to the already severe left-right confrontation which looms over this general election year.

A Supreme Court judge, Mr Christos Sartzetakis, the candidate supported by the governing Socialists and the Communist Party received 181 votes in the second ballot without the participation of the acting Head-of-State, Mr Yiannis Alevras.

To be assured of victory in the first two ballots Mr Sartzetakis would have needed two thirds of the votes, which was impossible as he is opposed by the conservative opposition New Democracy Party which holds more than a blocking third of the seats. But on the third and last ballot, the requirement drops to 180 votes, or three fifths of the seats, which — with Social-

ist, Communist and pledged independent support — should be possible.

In the first ballot eight days ago, Mr Sartzetakis fell two votes short.

Mr Alevras, the former President of Parliament, became acting Head-of-State after the veteran conservative, Mr Constantine Karamanlis, reacted to Pasok's decision not to back him for a second term by resigning the presidency prematurely. While the Constitution lays down that the president of Parliament should take over as acting Head-of-State in the absence of the president, it does not specify whether he thereby loses his parliamentary role.

Saturday's ballot brought signs of a growing rift in Greek politics. As Conservative MPs, objecting to what the described as manipulation of a supposedly secret ballot, shouted "shame" and threw their ballot slips into the air, a New Democracy deputy, Mr Eleftherios Kalogianis, grabbed the ballot box from the speaker's dais and ran from the chamber. The ballot began when the box was returned. Papers of a different colour were to be used for abstentions.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Numeiri cools to radical Islam

From Ed Hooper in Khartoum

In the wake of the dismissals and detentions of members of the Muslim Brotherhood two weeks ago, President Jafar Numeiri seems to be moving further away from the more radical aspects of Sharia Law which was implemented in September, 1983.

Yesterday, the President again attacked the Brotherhood by ordering the revision of all verdicts and sentences passed by courts previously controlled by Brotherhood members.

The sentences handed down by the decisive justice courts between April and October, 1984, included many which are incapable of revision, such as death penalties, amputations and lashings. The President's most recent statement is therefore being seen as merely cosmetic, to restore public confidence.

Last week amid new appointments to the Government and Judiciary, the President promoted two of his closest spiritual advisers, Awad al Geed and Abu Gorun, to the posts of Attorney-General and Minister for Legal Affairs.

"They would much prefer to be in the palace rather than out on the front line," claimed one political observer. The two men are members of the Sudan order, a mystical Islamic sect, and have apparently been removed from the presidential palace to an office in northern Khartoum.

In other changes, the moderate former prime minister, Mr El Rashid al Tahir Bakr, was made the third vice-president (in charge of political and legal affairs), and General Abdel Rahman Sower Eddahab became Defence Minister and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The post was previously held by President Numeiri himself.

The latest appointments, and the demise of the Muslim Brotherhood, has been greeted enthusiastically, but the problem of high price increases remains. Twelve days ago, petrol prices went up by between 60 and 65 per cent, and diesel fuel by 75 per cent without official announcement. Yesterday's 33 per cent rise in bread prices was also down-played with a paragraph in the Government paper, Sahafa.

Ethiopia increases austerity

Addis Ababa: In a bid to reduce outlays of foreign currency, Ethiopia announced yesterday a series of measures to save on imported fuel.

A proclamation published by the Marxist Government yesterday tightened fuel rationing, banned Sunday driving and restricted government vehicles to official business only.

Reports on the proclamation by the state-owned news media said the latest austerity measures were forced on the Government because of a drain of scarce foreign exchange reserves.

A government statement said these reserves had to be built up through the sacrifices by the people.

The proclamation empowered traffic police to stop and check whether government cars were being improperly used and to check on Sunday drivers.

No mention was made of diplomats, United Nations employees or aid agency officials, many of whom are involved in a massive effort to alleviate famine among the 10 million people. But government sources who requested anonymity said that restrictions would be announced soon on the size of vehicles permitted by the Government.

Earlier this year, the Ethiopian leader, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, unveiled new curbs on foreign currency spending by rationing petrol and banning the import of luxury items.

The latest measures coincided with reports from Western diplomats that the Government's foreign reserves had fallen behind in its payments for oil to the Soviet Union — Ethiopia's main ally. — AP.

Chad 'under new threat'

Lome: The President of Chad, Mr Hissene Habre, said yesterday that Libya was reinforcing its positions in the North of his country, but that the North's southern dissidents had rallied to the NDjamena Government this year.

He told reporters here that Libya had amassed 7,000 troops in the North, and had installed aircraft, tanks and air defence equipment.

"The Libyan occupation is for us very serious and worrying. The reinforcement continues," he said.

Mr Habre, in a Togo for a meeting on the future of the African Airline Air Afrique, added that Libya was building a 1,000-yard runway which would be finished in a month or so and on which a number of aircraft would be able to land.

"The presence constitutes a grave danger for Chad and Africa," he said.

Tehran halts civilian attacks as Iraq hits two oil tankers

Iran 'may be paving way' for end to Gulf war

Boston: The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, has said that a speech by the Ayatollah Khomeini may indicate he is ready to end the war with Iraq.

Mr Shultz's comments appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe as shipping sources confirmed that Iraq had hit another two tankers in the Gulf and Iran said that attacks on Iraqi towns would be halted.

Ayatollah Khomeini, in the speech delivered on Thursday before civil and military officials in Tehran, said that the most important thing for Muslim believers is not victory or defeat but whether they do God's will.

Mr Shultz said the speech has "the possibility of saying that the Iranians can say they have done their duty because they've made a major effort."

However, he added: "I don't want to be put down as concluding that's so. I just don't know."

Ayatollah Khomeini said: "Victory or defeat loses any meaning, because serving God and obeying his orders is all victory... even if we are defeated, it makes no difference."

"God has said that 'We should go and cut off the hand of the oppressor,'" the Ayatollah said, referring to the Iraqis. "We go and as much as we are able and have the arms off the hands of the oppressor."

"If we cannot do this, we have done our duty anyway."

In Bahrain, shipping sources said yesterday that two oil tankers were hit in apparent Iraqi air attacks south of Iran's main Kharg island oil terminal. The ships were the 30,384-ton Maltese motor tanker, Eastern Star, and the 126,400-ton Italian super-tanker, Volere, initially identified as the Bolero.

Both were hit in the northern Gulf about the time Iraq said that its warplanes had attacked two "large naval targets" a term it often uses to designate oil tankers.

A distress call requesting assistance was sent out by the Eastern Star, saying that the engine room of the 21-year-old ship was taking in water 80 miles south-east of Kharg.

The Volere, built in 1975, which was near to Kharg when hit, was believed to be on fire.

The strikes were the 20th and 21st confirmed hits this year on merchant vessels by Iran and Iraq as part of their four-and-a-half year war. The last confirmed hit was an Iraqi attack on Wednesday on the Iranian supply ship, Margat, in which six crew were believed to have died.

The attacks followed an Iranian statement yesterday that it was halting air and artillery strikes on Iraqi cities in an effort to de-escalate the war.

Iran said, however, it would resume attacking "with full force" if Iraq hit Iranian towns, merchant ships in the Gulf or caused problems to civilian air traffic.

The speaker of Parliament, Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani, said earlier that Iran would shell the southern Iraqi port of Basra in retaliation for attacks on tankers.

"We have stopped for the time being missile attacks and air raids on Iraqi cities and as of last night discontinued the shelling of Basra," the War Information Headquarters said yesterday in a statement.

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Hussein sees a final opportunity for peace

Madrid: King Hussein of Jordan, who starts a four-day state visit to Spain today, was quoted yesterday as describing his Middle East peace efforts as the last chance for a settlement.

He said in an interview with the newspaper, El Pais: "This is the last chance to realise the dream of peace. There is almost no time left. Hardly a few months."

The monarch reaffirmed his support for the UN peace process with Iran and restated his condemnation of Islamic fundamentalism. "Atrocities perpetrated in the name of Islam have nothing to do with religion, and this includes continuing a war that has already caused enormous damage and misery."

King Hussein said that his talks with King Juan Carlos and the Prime Minister, Mr Felipe Gonzalez, would cover the possible establishment of diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel.

"Spain is free to act according to its wishes... but there could be an adverse reaction if we do not act," he said.

After ending their visit on Thursday, King Hussein and Queen Noor will make a private trip to Lanzarote in the Canary Islands. — Reuters.

China seeks return of shoot-out boat

Peking: China is negotiating directly with South Korea for the return of 13 surviving crewmen and a navy torpedo boat that drifted into South Korean waters after a shoot-out between the two countries' vessels left six crewmen dead.

A US embassy source said here yesterday that the talks apparently were being conducted in Hong Kong, where China often is represented by the official Xinhu news agency.

China, a close ally of North Korea, has no diplomatic relations with South Korea, but the two countries have been under way since 1983.

The Chinese originally contacted the US in Hong Kong when the 45-ton attack craft disappeared on Friday and drifted into South Korean waters.

When towed into a South Korean harbour, the boat was found to have six dead and two wounded crewmen.

On Saturday, the Chinese Foreign Ministry asked South Korea to return the boat and crew "as soon as possible."

South Korea demanded an apology for the intrusion into its waters by three Chinese navy vessels pursuing the torpedo boat.

Peking said that the vessels "inadvertently" entered the area, and left without incident when they discovered they were mistaken.

The US embassy source said that it remained unclear whether there was an attempt to deflect the boat as South Korea has said, the deaths were the result of a "scuffle" with no political motive. — AP.

Pakistani MPs stand up to Zia

From Eric Silver in Islamabad

Pakistan's elected Members of Parliament are not going to make it easy for President Zia ul-Haq to go back on his promise to restore civilian democracy, but they are subtle enough to know how far to resist without provoking a new military crackdown.

They have put up a spirited demonstration of independence in rejecting General Zia's nominee for speaker of the National Assembly, and elected Mr Sped Fakhar Imam, a 42-year-old newcomer to national politics, who was educated in England and America.

Yesterday, they avoided confrontation with the President by giving his chosen Prime Minister, Mr Mohammad Khan Junejo, the benefit of a vote of confidence (after wrangling for two hours over sober people).

whether it was constitutionally proper to do so. The main appeal of Mr Junejo, who is widely believed to have been General Zia's second preference, is that he is a member of the Muslim League, the biggest party in the new Assembly, and is expected to fight for legalisation of parties.

Mr Junejo, aged 52, comes from Sind Province — one of the few politicians there who did not join the People's Party under the executed former prime minister, Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He is a former minister for railways.

The Prime Minister told reporters after his appointment that he would announce his Cabinet in stages, but as soon as possible. Ministers would be chosen on merit not only on party lines, but also on the basis of competence, dignity and power remains unanswered.

Political parties, he insisted, were essential in the Assembly. The only question was the timing of their revival. Mr Junejo also undertook to press for the early release of political prisoners. Hundreds of opposition leaders and activists detained before last month's elections have not yet been freed.

Asked how effective a prime minister he could be while martial law was still in force, Mr Junejo replied: "Soon you will see how effective and powerful I am." This remains the key question, however.

The constitutional changes that President Zia proposed after the elections strengthened his own authority and curtailed that of parliament and the question as to whether the general means to share power remains unanswered.



Furious Falashas: angry Ethiopian Jews march in Jerusalem yesterday in protest against a requirement laid down by the Chief Rabbi that they undergo a symbolic conversion upon arriving in Israel

US completes airlift of Falashas

From Michael White in Washington

The secret American airlift of 700-800 Ethiopian Falasha Jews from Sudanese refugee camps to Israel may have completed the evacuation of virtually all these Falashas not still inside Ethiopia, who number an estimated 3,000.

Given regional sensitivity on the issue, officials of the Reagan Administration were continuing to say nothing publicly about the airlift yesterday. But the announcement that President Numeiri of the Sudan, whose Islamicist programme has led to tensions with Washington, would visit the United States for medical attention and a meeting with President Reagan on April 1, is unlikely to have been a coincidence.

The Vice-President, Mr George Bush, recently met the Sudanese leader during his African visit and urged Mr Reagan to support an evacuation when he returned last week.

Officials privately deny that the visit was conditional on the airlift, but one was widely quoted as saying: "It was obviously convenient for President Numeiri to win some points on the Falashas." Discrepancies about the figures still surround reports emanating from Jewish and Administration sources here.

When the original airlift of the supposed lost tribe of Israel was aborted by premature publicity in early January an estimated 3,000-4,000 Falasha refugees were said to have been left behind in the camps, a figure later reduced to 1,500. Death by famine and disease as well as escape by other means and earlier over-estimates were offered as explanations.

In the event, far fewer than the originally planned 16, C-130 transport planes were required to complete the three-day operation, ending last Friday, and reported next day by a Los Angeles Times correspondent there. The exercise was partially funded through resettlement and transportation aid given to Israel not directed by the CIA with State Department and US Air Force assistance.

President Numeiri reportedly insisted on secrecy and on the refugees not going directly to Israel. They were given visas to Egypt, but as usual taken from Sudan's Gedaref airstrip to the Israeli air base at Rimon.

Nick Cater adds: Operation Moses was launched last year when refugee officials in Khartoum realised that thousands were dying en route to the Sudan or in overcrowded camps. Nearly 4,000 Falashas died, according to sources in Khartoum, before agreement for the airlift could be reached between Khartoum, Washington and Tel Aviv.

Israel rejects two-stage talks

From Ian Black in Jerusalem

Israel is "utterly opposed" to beginning Middle East peace negotiations by talks between the United States and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, the Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, said yesterday.

Mr Peres told ministers at the weekly cabinet meeting here that Israel was willing to hold direct talks with such a delegation, without the participation of the PLO "at any place and at any time."

But Israel was opposed to a delegation being invited to the US cabinet communiqué said, "because the aim of this proposal is to reach a prior, mutually agreed position which would be imposed on Israel."

President Reagan said last week that the US would be prepared to meet a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation in Washington, provided again that it did not include PLO representatives. The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, however, has since appeared to move away from that position.

Mr Shultz said on Friday, after a meeting with the Jordanian Foreign Minister, Mr Taher al-Masri: "The possibility of visits here is one thing, but the parties are really in the Middle East, and I think that's where the action most likely will be."

Mr Peres, according to yesterday's statement, stressed that the United States was also opposed to such a preliminary meeting.

The Assistant US Secretary of State, Mr Richard Murphy, is expected to visit Jordan soon to continue exploratory talks on the possibility of developing the peace process.

Reports from Amman yesterday said that the Jordanian PLO were discussing the formation of a joint delegation to hold talks with the US. An official, but unnamed, source was quoted as saying that the Jordanian side would be led by Mr Taher al-Masri and the Palestinians by Professor Walid Khalidi of the American University of Beirut. Professor Khalidi is not a member of the PLO.

Systematic torture in Turkey alleged

By Liz Thurgood

The human rights situation in Turkey was condemned yesterday as "appalling" by two playwrights who conducted their own investigation.

Mr Harold Pinter who went to Turkey with the American, Arthur Miller, said in London yesterday that torture there was systematic, not accidental. He put the number of political prisoners at 30,000.

Mr Pinter was speaking after a week-long visit, sponsored by the international writers association, Pen, during which he met writers, academics and intellectuals. The two men presented their conclusions to a press conference in Istanbul on Friday, before flying out.

The Turkish Government reacted angrily to the visit. All references to the press conference in the Turkish media was banned by military decree and an investigation into their conduct while in Turkey is believed to have begun.

While in Turkey both men urged their respective governments to take action. A report, yet to be written, will be sent to Amnesty International and the British and US governments, Mr Pinter said.

Central to the two men's visit were trials now underway involving 1,400 trade unionists and members of the Turkish Peace Association. Mr Pinter described prison conditions as "very bad."

The two playwrights were particularly critical of the Turkish legal system, under which people may be held 45 days incommunicado. It was during such periods that "torture is systematically practised," Mr Pinter claimed.

A method favoured by the Turks, Mr Pinter said, was electric torture of the genitals. Prisoners are hung upside-down for long periods and vicious beatings are commonplace, he claimed.

The two men condemned the US attitude to Turkey. Strategically important to Nato, Turkey receives more than \$750 million from Washington annually.

Gemayel returns to Beirut fighting

Beirut: President Amin Gemayel flew back yesterday from short meetings with his Syrian and Cypriot counterparts to a fresh outbreak of fighting.

Security sources said the army closed two crossings between Christian East Beirut and the mainly Muslim West, for at least six hours because of sniping.

One person was wounded by a rifle-fired grenade that hit a West Beirut police post when fighting flared in the afternoon.

Rival militias and army units clashed overnight with machine-guns and rocket-propelled grenades in the ruins of the old city centre. Four hours of continuous firing at the height of the battle were the heaviest for months.

President Gemayel flew back from the Cypriot port of Larnaca by helicopter after a one-hour meeting with President Spyros Kyprianou, Beirut Radio said.

The two leaders discussed relations between their countries and the divisions in both states. President Gemayel thanked Mr Kyprianou for the facilities Cyprus had been providing during Lebanon's crucial hours. Cyprus Radio reported.

When Beirut airport is closed because of fighting, Lebanese travel 125 miles by boat in order to use Larnaca airport. Many Lebanese also live in Cyprus because of the civil war.

President Gemayel spent the night in Larnaca after a five-hour meeting in Damascus with the Syrian President, Mr Hafez al-Assad, their sixth meeting since President Gemayel took office in 1982.

Government sources said President Gemayel wanted to prevent any armed intervention by Syria to crush a March 12 revolt by young Christian militia officers. They took over the "Lebanese Forces" militia, which is dominant in Christian area north-east of Beirut, and was previously controlled by Gemayel loyalists.

A Syrian presidential spokesman said Mr Assad spoke out against any move that might serve Israeli interests and impede Lebanon's progress toward reconciliation. Syria wants Lebanon's Christians to make political concessions to the Muslim majority.

Beirut newspaper reports said President Gemayel asked Mr Assad for two months in which to neutralise the revolt without resort to arms.

It was announced in Tel Aviv yesterday that Israel is withdrawing its women soldiers from Lebanon, because of the cost of ensuring their safety.

Military officials said that the women, who have been doing office work for the army in parts of south Lebanon under Israeli control, would continue their jobs in Israel.

They have been flown to and from their home bases by helicopter to ensure they do not come under guerrilla attack and the army has decided the flights are too expensive. Reuters.

28 Tuesday

MARCH

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South Africa's legal suppression machine

OUT OF COURT

Geoffrey Bindman

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Government is once again poised to embark on a major treason trial, this time in an attempt to suppress the United Democratic Front, which is the most successful coalition of black and non-racial opposition groups to emerge since the banning of the African National Congress in 1960.

On February 19, the homes and offices of a number of UDF leaders were raided and several were detained. Eight prominent members had already been charged with high treason last December, including five of the six men whom the British government had allowed for some weeks to take refuge in the Consulate at Durban. Sixteen have now been charged and are next due to appear before the court on Friday.

Those arrested include two co-presidents of the UDF, Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu (wife of Walter Sisulu); Thozamile Gqweta, president of the South African Allied Workers' Union; Sisa Njekelana, general secretary of SAAWU; George Sepersadh, president of the National Indian Congress; and Esop Jassas, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress. The last three organisations are prominent affiliates of the UDF.

The UDF national executive committee has issued a considered response to the arrests and charges in which it points out that the UDF has constantly called, since its inception, for a peaceful solution to the South African problems.

Courageously, it has publicly accused the Government of instigating the trial in order to damage the effectiveness of the UDF. By smearing it as a subversive and violent organisation, the Government hopes to intimidate its supporters and, by imprisoning the leadership, to destroy its day-to-day operations. Nor does the UDF have any confidence in the prospect of a fair trial for its leaders. Their cynicism is well-grounded. Although the

traditional trappings of legal-ity inherited from the English Common Law and the Roman Dutch Law of Holland are still used in South Africa, the process is no more than a finely-tuned machine for suppression and punishment where the defendants are black politicians or their white supporters.

Parliamentary sovereignty prevails in South Africa, and the judges are constitutionally, if not morally, bound to carry out statutory instructions. Of course the African majority is excluded from Parliament and the judges are entirely white. With occasional expressions of regret, the judges have consistently implemented the most barbaric and cynical statutory provisions which fly in the face of international standards of human rights.

High treason is a Common Law offence carrying the death penalty. But in addition, the defendants are likely to be charged with a variety of offences under the Internal Security Act, including subversion and sabotage, and advocating communism (defined to include socialism). All the statutory offences are so widely defined as to embrace virtually any

expression of opinion critical of Government policy.

Furthermore, the procedures under the Internal Security Act make anything approaching a fair trial impossible and the powers given to the security police give free rein to intimidation of defendants and witnesses. Under Section 29 of the Act, a person may be detained indefinitely if believed to be withholding information from the police about a security offence and need only be released when "the said person has satisfactorily replied to all the questions at the interrogation". No access to legal advice or family and friends is permitted until an arrested person is brought before the court and the court may not grant bail if the Attorney General objects.

This is precisely what has happened in the case of the sixteen now facing trial. Not only the accused themselves are subject to duress, but any witnesses whom the prosecution wish to call. The law allows detention of potential witnesses for the duration of the trial and allows detention of those who refuse to give evidence. Even after the trial, witnesses are often detained in a trial at Kimberley which began in April 1981 and was con-

tinuing in late 1982, nineteen schoolboys were detained as potential witnesses for 18 months. Many were detained after the end of the prosecution case when they could no longer be called to give evidence.

Inevitably, as a result of interrogation and, undoubtedly, torture, confessions are common, and increasingly the evidence is provided by statements and admissions allegedly made by the accused. Press reporting of political trials is strictly monitored and evidence is frequently heard in camera (sometimes the whole trial). There is no proper legal aid and defendants often cannot obtain legal advice. Sentences are the sole responsibility of the presiding judge or magistrate and have become increasingly severe.

There have been nine death sentences in political cases since 1980, though only three have been carried out, and many lengthy sentences of imprisonment.

South African judges are, of course, chosen by the Government and are likely to have sympathy with Government policy. Yet even those who do not have done no more than make the occasional very mild protest.

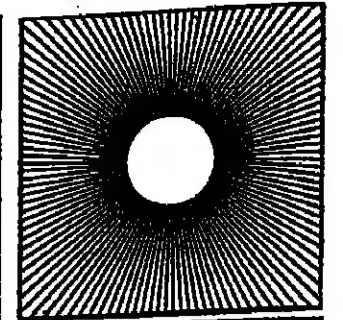
None has resigned. The political pressure on the legal profession is intense. In 1971, a Durban law professor asked in a public address whether the time had not come for judges to stand up in defence of the rule of law and to say something about the Terrorism Act (predecessor of the Internal Security Act) "which they must surely know to be an abomination of decency and justice. It was prosecuted and convicted on a charge of attempting to obstruct justice. The judge who tried his case said that "in a society such as ours" it was not for judges to take sides in public controversies.

It is surely not going too far to say that the now imminent treason trials are an elaborate sham. They are an attempt to dress up in the guise of fairness and justice a crude and brutal exercise of arbitrary power. They have already been condemned by the United Nations, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and many other bodies. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Shridath Ramphal, has said, "It is time for the rest of the world to put this evil system itself on trial for the highest treason against humanity." The British Government has, however, so far

failed to grasp the real nature of the forthcoming trial. When the first accused were charged, shortly after some of them had left the British Consulate in Durban, Mr. Malcolm Rifkind, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, said in reply to a request in Parliament that representations be made: "They will at least be able to answer those charges in court. The South African courts have a healthy reputation for independence." Later he said "As is our normal practice, we shall consider the possibility of representations only when the legal processes have been completed."

The South African Government must be very pleased at their success in deceiving the British Government into treating their sham justice as if it were the genuine article.

The campaign against the trials, which is to be launched tomorrow, will be urging the British Government to change its mind and to join in the widespread demand for the unconditional release of the sixteen, and indeed all other political prisoners in South Africa. Geoffrey Bindman is a solicitor.



FACE TO FAITH

Mark Corner

In bad taste

WHEN the IBA decided to ban The Life of Brian from appearing on television, for fear that it might give offence to Christians, it hardly provided evidence of the Authority's respect for the feelings of religious believers in general. For as was pointed out at the time, no one thought to ban Raiders of the Lost Ark on grounds that an adventure film based upon the Ark of the Covenant might give offence to Jews.

Nor, one might suspect, when the subsequent Spielberg spectacular Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom comes up for screening, will there be many in the IBA complaining that this extravaganza of fire-belching "idols", human sacrifices and the stereotypically orientalist for whom all life is cheap, might be an insult to the culture and religious beliefs of the East.

Much of the Christian attitude to other religions in this country tends to represent a characteristic attitude of Western culture as a whole. A dismissive view of other cultures carries over into a dismissive attitude towards the religions associated with those cultures.

Such attitudes become particularly unfortunate in a multi-cultural society like our own, where they encourage a patronising or contemptuous attitude on the part of some British people towards others. Thus in spite of some praiseworthy efforts by both television and radio to describe the world's various religious traditions, it still tends to be the case that non-Christian religions are reserved for "news-worthy" items which are felt to be at best comical, at worst distasteful. Sikhism thus becomes a quarrel over whether a crash helmet can be worn without removing a turban, Islam a ritual killing of a sheep in a London street, and Judaism a controversial method of slaughtering cattle.

Items like this tempt the Christian to develop a self-image as a reasonable and pragmatic believer, not given to the fanatical excesses of "other religions", from which he or she feels automatically alienated. One of the ways in which this very patronising and one-sided attitude could be combated would be by a determination on the part of the media to show Sikhs, Muslims, Jews, Hindus and Buddhists in their everyday life and work, and not simply in headline-catching situations.

Could not television's Son of a Preacher, for instance, for once depart from all those phony voices in suits and shiny singlets singing Christian hymns and presenting, for example, the Japanshanti at which British Hindus welcome the newborn Krishna with songs, sweets and dancing Or could not the BBC's Hinduism series lead him a little more often in the direction of a synagogue or a mosque?

Nor, perhaps, should Christians underestimate the extent to which Christianity might appear just as "irrational" or "superstitious" to a Hindu as Hinduism might at first sight appear to a Christian. Hindus reading the news on television over recent months will have discovered that the major debate of Christians concerns the question of whether or not the Godman who gave birth to God was in fact a man, or an investigation of the man who was in fact believed that God to consist of three "persons", one of whom appeared to Mary and was in some sense responsible for her giving birth, one of whom was the child born, and one of whom remained apart from the action altogether.

In such circumstances, the Hindu might consider the Christian claim to rationality weak. Moreover, Islam and Judaism have long and powerfully argued that Christianity, in its idea that God might become a human being, comprises the essential monotheism which it aims to believe, and it is interesting to note that a number of Christian scholars appear to take a similar view today.

Rather than being superstitious alternatives to Christian belief, the ideas of other religions might actually be useful in Christian theology. But the main benefit would be a growth of tolerance through mutual understanding.

Dr Mark Corner is lecturer in religious studies at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Heed the cuckoos' cry

Peter Pulzer and Jim Reed

OXFORD, as we know, is less a serious place of teaching and research than an appendage of clubland, a sort of academic Ascot. So no one really expected it would refuse Mrs Thatcher an honorary degree. Least of all the Guardian, whose leader on the day called Oxford "the heartiest of Tory lands", and over-simplified further by saying the majority of the opposition were "scientists protesting at cut-backs in research funding".

This became a cliché of comments after the event, and a face-saver (as David Watt perceived in the Times, on January 31), distracting attention from wider discontent. At its crudest, it allowed the scientists' professional commitment to be presented as a self-indulgence of the privileged — medical research as a kind of higher port-drinking.

"Privilege" was in any case a handy all-purpose bludgeon against us. Oxford had nothing much to complain of itself, but also it was too different from other institutions to be able to speak on their behalf. The notion that privilege might carry responsibilities was too difficult for most commentators, though colleagues all over the country welcomed and accepted it. Of the pre-vote comments, only Paul Williams's Sunday Telegraph article (January 27) fully reported our declared concern for "the whole public education system, from the provision for the youngest child up to the most advanced research programme", and the paper used a facsimile of our declaration at the head of his piece. This at least put in perspective the charge of "coarse-grained vindictiveness" in the same day's leader.

Inevitably, there were cruder charges than that of scientific self-indulgence. The Times leader ("an exercise by militantly left-wing dons"), in common with one of the more credulous locals interviewed on the streets by the Oxford Mail and the Daily Telegraph (a well-organised coup by the political Left), smelled conspiracy. The Sun revealed the suddenly discovered outrage of what we do earn and what (little) we do for it, not to mention our well-known penchant for sexually harassing our pupils; all of which would presumably not have mattered if we had only voted the other way.

Even the Times could not claim that all 738 of us were militant leftists. The rest were "apparently more respectable support". The reason? All the alleged cuts in education funding were an optical illusion. Spending on universities and schools had in fact increased since Mrs T took office.

Figures, we soon discovered, were the central feature of the Government's news management. Cuts that had been pursued, determined and executed and officially reported would now be publicly denied. The New-Speak of 1984 is backed by the Newcount of 1985.

That was the basis of the tenpoint briefing distributed by the White House Office to Conservative MPs for use in their weekend speeches, as of the figures quoted in the Congregation debate by Dr Shrimpton, tutor in English at Lady Margaret Hall, and repeated by him in his February 2. Indeed, the biggest memo corresponds almost verbatim with an article by the Daily Express's education Correspondent on the day of the debate itself. All the figures in this counter-offensive share two features. They compare current expenditure with 1979-80 only, that

being the one year with which 1984-85 compares favourably (by one per cent). Compared with any year since then expenditure on education and science is down and it is scheduled to drop by a further 7.7 per cent by 1987-88. Secondly, they do not correspond with those in the Government Public Expenditure White Paper or DES publications and express expenditure in 1984-85 prices, a basis not used in official publications.

We wrote to the Times pointing this out and asking for chapter and verse for their figures. The letter was not published, but the editor replied that the figures came from Department of Education and Science, which gets us nowhere.

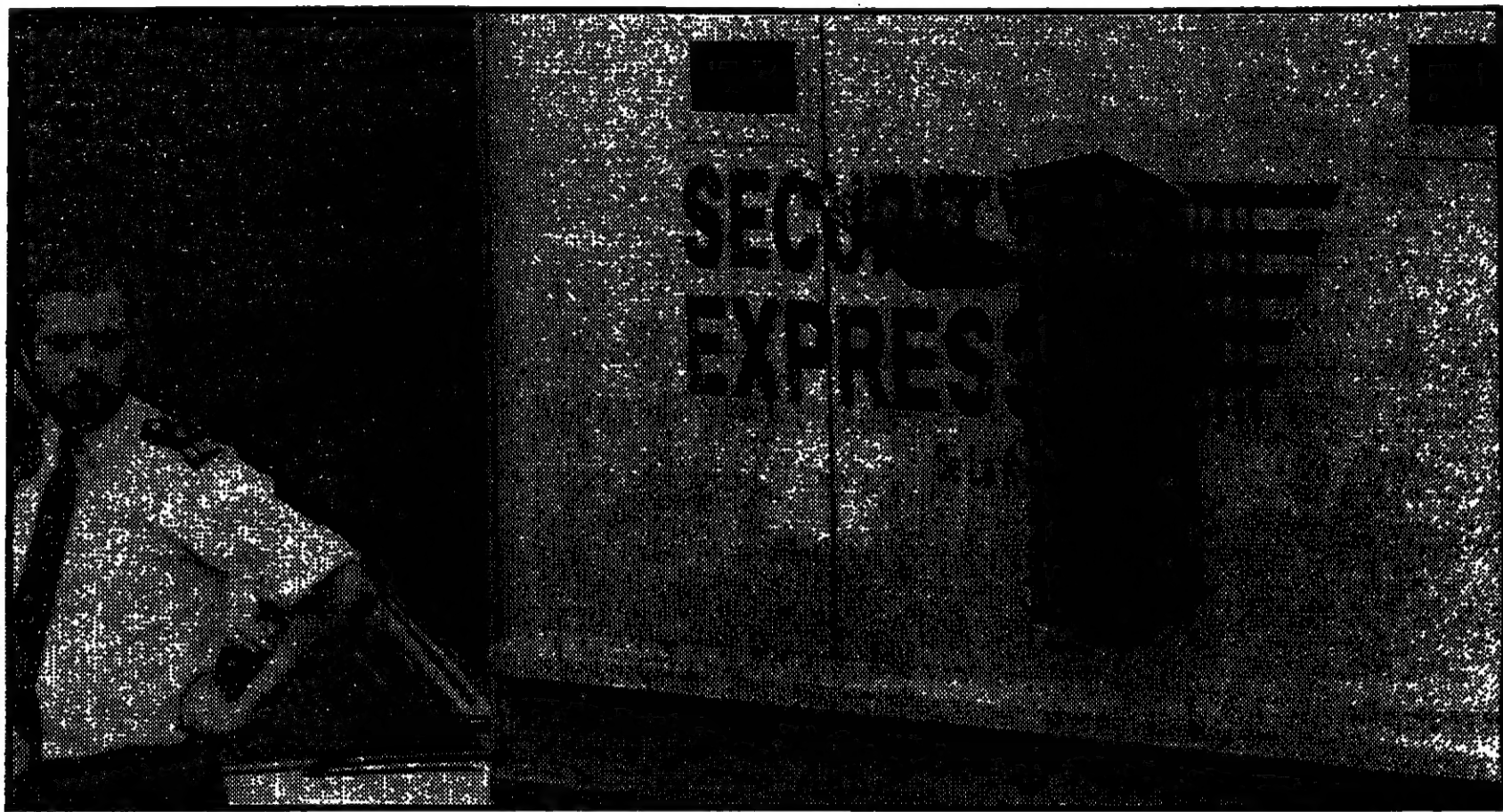
Letters were sent to John Patten, MP for Oxford West and Abingdon, and to Peter Brooke, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the DES, asking the same question. A reply from Peter Brooke gave no indication that the figures as printed in the newspapers had a DES source. The only newspapers that noted something amiss about the figures were the Observer (Judith Judd, February 3), and the Times Higher Education Supplement which, in its editorial of February 8, talked of a "calculated campaign of disinformation". No-one from the Department has commented on these charges, but parliamentary written answers have in any case put paid to Newcount. Mr Brooke told Harry Greenaway on February 6 that figures on university expenditure were not comparable from year to year "because of various funding changes". Sir Keith Joseph told Giles Radice on February 13 that he could supply figures only on the basis of 1983-84 prices, as "a deflator for 1984-85 is not yet available." We wrote to the court journalists to know that the Secretary of State did not.

This technique, barely adequate for the pre-education constituency would not do for the wider world. Like Digby Anderson in the Times (February 6), place universities in the queue for handouts. We cannot be treated as an extension, because we have never contributed anything to the country or its economy. This is the unsubstantiated Thatcherite line that Hugo Thackeray took in the Guardian on February 4, perceptively demonstrating how the dons had been "politically against their will." Only then did David Watt ask what was the place of education as a value in that particular ideological world.

There has been a rash of questions in Parliament; there was an excellent Panorama programme; the topic came up on Radio 4's Any Questions and the cuts in the research budget surface more and more frequently in the more serious radio and television discussions, and have featured in several minority but influential publications.

Perhaps all that would have happened anyway. After all, we did not treat the anxiety about education cuts, we responded to it. But we hope that we gave the anxiety some publicity and the discussion some focus, so that in the end a more informed public opinion and a less short-sighted Government policy may emerge. That, at any rate, was the intention.

Peter Pulzer is Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration and Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. Jim Reed is Fellow and Tutor in German of St John's College, Oxford.



'More and more people seem to seek private remedies for social injustice'

The society which offers hope on the underworld lottery

JEREMY SEABROOK

KEEN observers will have noticed how the crusade of the Conservative Party against crime has become markedly less fervent after six years in power. This fading ardour has a cause that goes far beyond the inability of the party of law and order to reduce crime, a cause more unwelcome than mere broken electoral promises. The growing number of indictable offences over the years is the oblique tribute of the dispossessed to the values of capitalist society; and this is a development not entirely unwelcome to those who like to project themselves as the staunchest defenders of property.

The fact is that there seems to be a direct relationship between the increase in robbery, theft, burglary, and fraud on the one hand, and the decay of political radicalism on the other. If this is true, it renders crime, not the blight on our national life which it is commonly represented to be, but rather an unenviable and discreet ally in the maintenance of social and political control.

It would, of course, be fanciful in the extreme, to link the electoral delinquency of the Labour Party to rising crime figures in a simple causal way; and yet these apparently discrete phenomena are aspects of one and the same thing, of which sophisticated Tories are, no doubt, aware. In this way the fretting and fuming of the Conservative Party about law and order is to the Right the equivalent of the Left's adherence to Clause Four in the Labour Party: both an expression of faith and cause for sonorous incantation, but of little practical consequence.

The tendency of the Left, when it can bring itself to

address the issue at all, is to ascribe crime to "deprivation"; but the very vagueness of the ascription betrays a difference not unconnected with the fact that the Left, like crime, is also in the business of offering specifics for deprivation; and there is a perhaps understandable reluctance to acknowledge crime as a sort of political rival on the Left just as it would never be invoked publicly as a political friend by the Right.

But it is quite clear that more and more people seem ready to seek private remedies for social injustice rather than to wait for Labour government to do it for them. Crime against property is principally an individual response to collectively imposed miseries; and it is a measure of the decaying credibility of collective answers to these visitations that certain sections of the poor — essentially the able and vigorous poor, not the defeated and frightened — make their own accommodations with political reality. It should scarcely surprise us if so many individuals endeavour to better themselves by means of an extensive and imaginative range of private, even furtive, enterprise; enterprise which mirrors — and indeed, sometimes merges with — more legitimate and socially approved versions of the same thing.

The political significance of crime is not to be read in the social-breakdown and lost moral values rhetoric of the Right, any more than in the Left's biased invocation of "deprivation". After all, in the 1930s, when conditions were far worse, there was only about an eighth of the

number of indictable offences recorded in the early 1980s. Both Right and Left collusively pass over the real meaning, to the immense advantage of the existing order, which is that the only remedies for social injustice and poverty which appear available to the victims of these things are personal and "non-political" ones.

In other words, the poor show signs of believing what the Right has always claimed, that socially determined evils like poverty and unemployment are personal problems, which must be dealt with accordingly. And while it is no doubt unpleasant for the Right to hear of constantly rising crime figures, this shock is much mitigated by the agreeable prospect that these might serve as guarantor of a kind of social peace.

Thus, the Conservatives are obliged to tread a very delicate path: while they must not be seen to be in-capable of controlling crime, nor must they betray the slightest glimmer of their delight in the realisation that crime is, after all, perhaps a tolerable price to pay for the maintenance of social order which, however damaging to the system, leaves the system unscathed, untouched, as it were, by scandal.

On the Left there has been a tolerance, even a glorification of crime, and a consequent difficulty in living down a reputation for being "soft" or "half-hearted" about it. Erst kommt da Fressen, dann kommt die Moral, they may quote approvingly with Brecht, their sympathies perhaps still stirred by memories of the brutal penal code of the early industrial era. The truth that this picturesque idea neglects is that it is

generally the poor themselves who are the victims of crime: the rich have, on the whole, learnt to protect themselves rather well. But what is more important for the Left, and therefore the object of one of its many taboos, is that contemporary patterns of crime illustrate perfectly the in-turned nature of a kind of popular radicalism which Left-wing parties have such difficulty in making politically explicit.

Crimes against money and property are in themselves a reaction of market-distributed rewards. Those who are excluded from the vast material benefits of rich western societies are well aware that the elaborate ideological actions of markets and reward bear no more relation to the imputed worthlessness of themselves than they do to the moral qualities attributed to the rich.

Furthermore, the social scientists who have been at pains to prove that relative deprivation governs our expectations have neglected to point out: that in a culture in which the most insistent and widely diffused images are of extreme opulence, anything that falls short of them feels, by contrast, like deprivation.

This helps, incidentally, to explain why the very rich are always talking about all the things they can't afford; why the well-off feel that they are on the brink of hegemony; and the comfortably provided-for claim to live like church mice: in the ubiquitous presence of images of luxury and perfection, all humanity is dwarfed and belittled.

And who is to judge better than the poor the workings of a society which claims to be a meritocracy, but whose sweets are distributed in ways that suggest more than anything else the aleatory scatterings of the casino or gaming-house; so that life itself is seen as a lottery, and hope dwells in the lucky number, the winning combination, the smile of fortune, the big win, the rewards and prizes which rain down so randomly and so unfairly.

This is, of course, no new phenomenon; it is the contemporary version of unexpected legacies and changes of fortune, those arbitrary interventions of the philanthropist which must have offered hope to some of the most wretched in Victorian England. One thing the poor know with unshakeable authority is that the most fitting emblem of this society is not so much the meritocratic ladder as the wheel of fortune. In consequence, they quite naturally fail to discern the symmetry and

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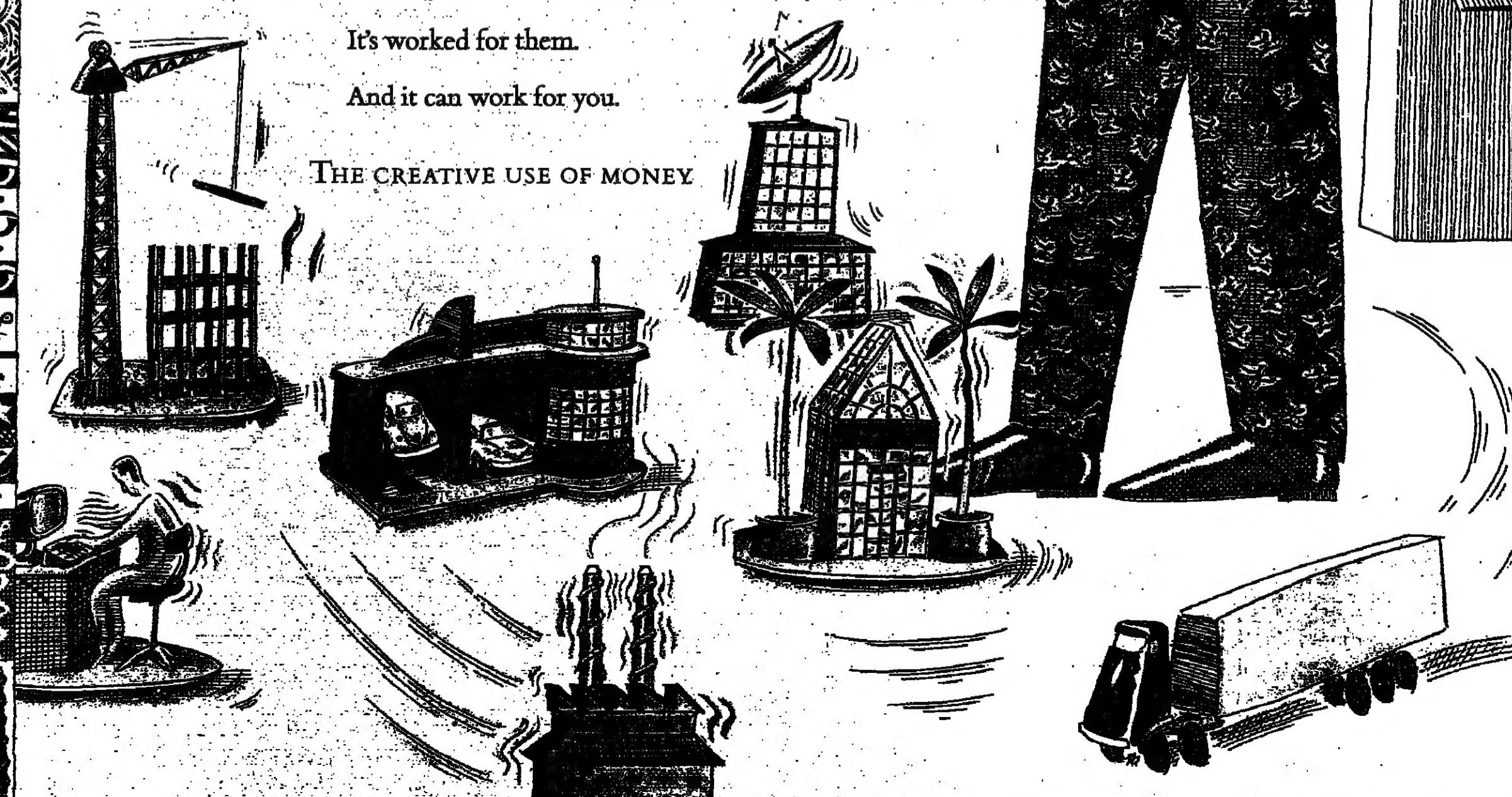
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THE CREATIVE USE OF MONEY





Roy and Janice Jones: may never get the chance of a court hearing

Philip Jones was a healthy volunteer in the trial of a new drug. Now he is dead. This is his story



Polly Toynbee

PHILIP JONES died in July last year at the age of 21. He was a large, cheerful, Welsh medical student in his fourth year, a rugby player in the college team, a young man who had always wanted to be a doctor. His family had rejoiced at his admission to medical school, the crowning achievement of his successful school career.

He came from the small town of Llanelli in South Wales, where his mother is a ward receptionist in a geriatric hospital and his father an engineering worker.

Philip died six months after contracting aplastic anaemia, a disease that destroys the body's immune system. The onset of his illness came after participating in a drugs trial for Roche International. The drug Midazolam, had been administered to him twice. He had signed a consent form agreeing to take it orally, and intravenously, under observation, one day a week, for five weeks.

I saw Philip when he was seriously ill in the Intensive Therapy Unit, at Cardiff's

Heath Hospital, where he was a medical student. He was isolated in a sterile cubicle, with only one nurse, his parents and his fiancée allowed to visit him. I came across his case by chance when visiting the hospital, on the day he was going down to the operating theatre to have a Hickson line fixed into his chest. He had had so many drips and injections that there was no longer room in the veins of his arms and legs to administer further drugs, so he needed this permanently embedded tube in order to give him further treatment. The nurses in the ward talked about his bravery and determination but everyone knew that it was only a matter of time before he died of the multitude of infections besetting his body.

In a few weeks' time there will, at last, be an inquest into the cause of Philip Jones's death. Was Midazolam responsible for the illness that killed him? No one can prove beyond doubt that it was since aplastic anaemia can also occur naturally. Judgment will rest on the balance of probability.

Evidence will come from Dr Gordon Smith, a leading haematologist at the Hammersmith Hospital, who treated Philip Jones at the time of his death. In his opinion, it is likely that his illness was related to the taking of Midazolam.

"The time lapse between the second exposure (to Midazolam) and onset of symptoms is what would be expected if Midazolam were the cause. The fact that he had been exposed twice to the drug also increases the suspicion that it may be implicated. . . . Aplastic anaemia is a rare disorder (incidence

about 13 per million of population per year) so that the coincidence of two rare events — taking part in a drug trial and the onset of a rare disease temporally related to this drug — being due to a chance seems less likely than to a causal relationship."

Professor Alan Richens is in charge of the department at the University of Wales medical school where Philip underwent the trial. A professor of pharmacology and therapeutics, he points out that Midazolam is closely related to Valium, and that the official data warns that Valium has been associated with blood dysplasias. He will be giving evidence about the particular drugs trial at the inquest.

On the other hand, according to Roche International, "There is no reason to think Midazolam causes blood dysplasia. There have been no other reports. No causal connection can be proved. Yes, it is closely related to Valium, but the relationship between Valium and blood disorders is no greater than the incidence of the disease in the general population."

The company would not comment on the evidence they would bring to the inquest, nor on whether the case had caused them to review any of their drug trial procedures.

In Britain there are no controls governing the trial of new drugs on healthy volunteers — the Committee on Safety of Medicines is only asked to grant a licence on a company needs permission for the drug to be prescribed to patients. No one monitors the number of trials taking place. There are no fixed

guidelines, nor any authority responsible for overseeing the trials. Many thousands of people are involved each year — usually medical students, other students, and the poor. The sums paid are not large — Philip was getting only £70 for five full days — but they can make a difference to a low income.

Trials conducted in universities also provide valuable income from drug companies to hard-pressed university departments. Professor Richens says that half the income for his department comes from such outside funding. The trials in medical schools are vetted by the college's Ethics Committee, but those conducted by drug companies, or by special private drug testing companies, have their own Ethics Committees which are in no way independent, and are paid by the companies.

The testing of drugs on animals has been strictly controlled in Britain since 1876, and in response to recent public outcry, the Government, in a white paper, is promising still tighter control. But there are no laws or regulations governing the use of healthy humans.

As other countries tighten their laws, Britain and Ireland are becoming the test ground for the European drugs industry. A man who died in a drugs test case in Dublin last year was testing a German drug. The one Philip was testing was Swiss. In France no tests at all are allowed on healthy humans. Most experts regard the French attitude as too stringent, and also too selfish, since it means the French depend on having their new drugs tested elsewhere. There is now widespread

concern about the lack of control or statutory regulation in Britain. The Royal College of Physicians has a working party looking into the question, and they will report next year. Meanwhile, the National Union of Students has called for a boycott of all tests until the Government provides proper safeguards.

Philip's parents, Roy and Janice Jones, dread the inquest, when they will have to listen again to the gruesome and harrowing details of the sufferings their son lived through in his last months. He was bleeding from the gums, mouth, nose and every orifice of the body, swollen with oedema, and with phlebitis in his arms and legs. His mouth had such large cold sores that he couldn't speak. He had both pleurisy and pneumonia, and he was very frightened indeed.

Will they take the matter further and sue Roche in the courts? "We would like to feel he hadn't died in vain. We would like to have it proved that the drug did cause his death. We would like proper controls brought in for drugs trials," Philip's father says. But then, on the other hand, they wonder if they have the strength to drag out the agony of the memory of it all, in a court battle that could take years.

They feel bitter about Roche and about the university which conducted the trials. "Luckily we had some savings which we used up on staying in a terrible bed and breakfast when Philip was in hospital in London for months, but we had no money, no help, no sympathy from Roche. We had to leave our younger son alone at

home for months on end while we were with Philip. They were thoughtless, heartless. We would have liked to be able to afford more comforts for him before he died."

But how can a working class couple in Llanelli take on an international drug company like Roche? The harsh answer is that they can't. Roche only have to offer enough money paid into court or in an out of court settlement to compensate parents for agony of the loss so they get nothing, or almost nothing.

In other words, Roche would only have to pay a few thousand pounds into the court to be fairly sure that that would be the end of the matter. And they may try to prevent the case coming to court at all. Were they to make a much larger offer — which is usually given on the understanding that nothing more is said about the case — the Jones's solicitor would be obliged to advise them to accept. Settlement out of court would mean far more money than they could hope for later, and the legal aid would not pay for them to go to court simply to prove their case.

Mr and Mrs Jones would like parliament to take up their cause, and press for the introduction of statutory control of drug trials. It would be quite unfair for anyone to imagine they preferred to take the money than go to court, because the chances are, that being poor, they'll never get the chance of a court hearing.

An updated version of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* is out today. Sue Woodward talks to two members of the women's collective that produced it.

Ourselves as no others see us

WHEN *Our Bodies, Ourselves* first appeared in the United States in 1970, it had a revolutionary message for women: they, and not doctors or the health care system, had the right to control their bodies. The book became a classic, selling 2½ million copies in the US and appearing in 12 foreign language editions in 13 countries. Britain included.

Today, 15 years later, a new *Our Bodies, Ourselves* has appeared (US only). It is a hefty, updated version of the early work, produced by the same 11 members of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective. But this time there are nine new chapters and contributions by more than 80 other writers. And although this alone is a testimony to the vigorous growth of the women's health movement over the past decade, it also pinpoints the fact that there is still much work to be done on the subject.

"I believe the need for this book is perhaps greater than at any point in the past," said Norma Swenson, at 53, the oldest member of the original collective. "When we wrote the first book, there wasn't a women's health movement to speak of, but there was a feminist climate that made people hungry for this kind of information."

"At the time there was also a fairly broad attack taking place — and not just by feminists — on the medical establishment. Today the medical profession is more isolated and insulated than it's been for years, and government programmes which offered us safeguards, support and consumer participation have been stripped away. In this climate the tools we provide in the book seem to be needed as never before."

The new *Our Bodies, Ourselves* is still much as it was a health-care reference book, a consumer advocate, a feminist bible. What has changed between the original and the new version is the emphasis. While the early work set out to uncover the "patriarchal and sexist" nature of the medical establishment, and to demystify its jargon, the new version asks more probing questions — about the benefits to women of new treatments and the increasing numbers of alliances forged between medical research institutions and large profit-making drug companies.

The problem is that women don't understand how to take care of themselves

"The profit-making motive in medicine has escalated beyond all proportion," said Swenson. "Some of the alliances that exist today would have been unheard of ten years ago and we believe they have serious implications for women's health. What's more, less than 20 per cent of medical technologies now in use have ever been scientifically evaluated for evidence of their benefits. We think that's a stunning statistic."

This harsh thread of criticism of the medical profes-

sion is present throughout the book's 650 pages. A new section examines what the collective terms the "medicalisation" of women's lives — the intervention of health professionals into areas of life never before considered within their domain; areas such as sex, ageing and menstruation.

"Take premenstrual syndrome," said collective member Wendy Sanford. "We have to ask ourselves at what point does having PMS as a problem for some women allow it to become the creation of a new disease, which doctors treat with drugs."

"Or menopause, which is surely a normal experience that every woman will go through," added Swenson. "The modern assumption that we need dangerous hormones to get through this life transition has masked the fact that there are preventive, natural ways women can deal with menopause."

Swenson believes that the problems connected with such conditions result from women's continued failure to understand how to take care of themselves — the importance of eating good food, of exercise, and dealing with stress. The book — just as it did 15 years ago — offers many suggestions of alternatives to conventional medicine that it maintains can be safer and more effective.

We've included the voices of women who have never been listened to before

New chapters evaluate the latest "alternative" health methods, such as biofeedback, acupuncture, herbal medicine and visualisation. They also look at the most up-to-date information on environmental and occupational health, the pros and cons of psychotherapy and new reproductive technologies. Other new topics for discussion include violence against women, body image and a special section on women growing older.

"To our shame, we ended the first *Our Bodies* at menopause — as if there was no life after that," said Swenson. "This time around, we've consulted many different sources — women in midlife, menopausal and elderly women, and we hope we've amended the omission."

It is the broadened scope of the new book that the collective feels is its greatest achievement.

"We've included the voices of women who have never been listened to before," said Sanford. "Older women, black women, disabled women, fat women — women from all different kinds of backgrounds and experiences. The exciting thing is that today, these women are all part of a growing research, running clinics, taking part in some way in the women's health care network. They're what's been happening in the past 15 years, the proof of how much has changed and is going on. For us, that's what this book represents."

Vanity Fair

URBLETON Church is harbouring refugees. It's been harbouring them for a couple of weeks now, and it can go on for months, even years. Home Office doesn't care. What's a couple more years after all this time? Home Office will get them in the end.

And Home Office has its allies. Outside, fascists have been marching about with petitions, demanding that our two refugees be sent home at once, and the other night, round the dark side of the church, vandals pushed a giant cross over, right out of its concrete, and Jesus, the ex-refugee, was left pale and sideways against the church wall.

Perhaps the vandals and fascists felt strongly, like our Home Office does, that Mr and Mrs Z, from Cyprus are not refugees at all. Real refugees arrived in 1974, just as the war ended, and ours were two years late, so they didn't count. Mr Z had been conscripted into the army and they'd both stayed in school-rooms and refugee tents for another year, and that, says our Home Office, means they'd Resettled. And as if that wasn't enough, they'd told lies.

The travel agency told them to do it, to say they had a business, home and money here, then they'd be let in, even if their passports said they came from a poor, small village in the occupied North. But that was in the days when Home Office didn't mind much and no one looked hard at passports.

What Mr and Mrs Z didn't know was that sometimes our Home Office doesn't mind fibs, and sometimes it does. Usually it doesn't mind a fresh little fib straight after a war, but then it mulls things over for a few years and suddenly wants to send the fibbers home.

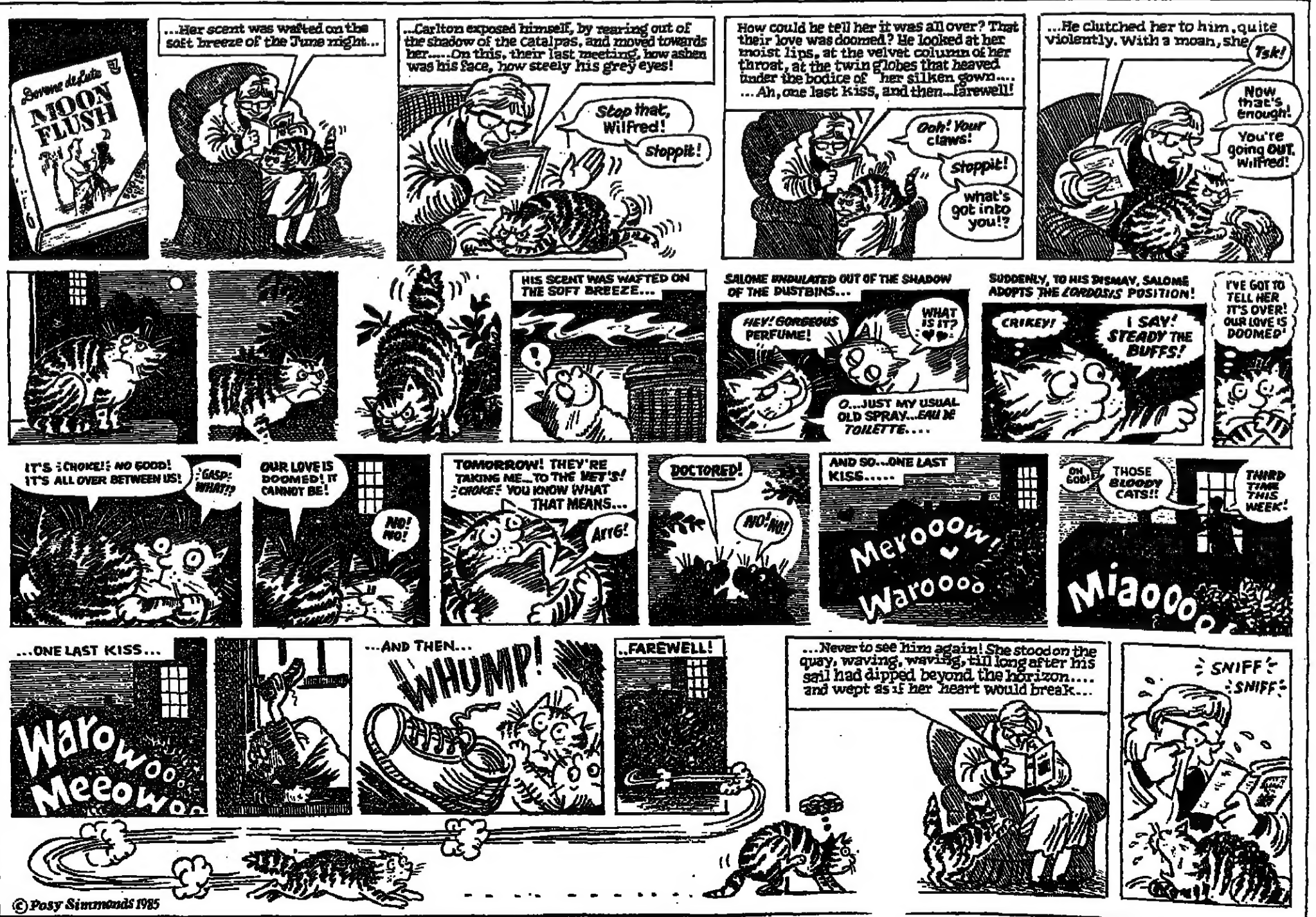
It's not that our Home Office has been making people lie to come in so that it could call them liars later and then throw them out. It's because after the years of thought, Home Office finds that all its past little weaknesses, allowing hordes of the mendacious to enter our homeland, have clogged into a tremendous block in its psyche, which must be got rid of. And all this is a sort of emotional discharge to purge the spirit of our country.

Anyway, Our Government knew that the war in Cyprus was only a squabble that would soon blow over, then the refugees could go home again. That's why it called them Displaced Persons and gave them three month visitors' permits, like a holiday. It all confused the travel agents, who confused Mr and Mrs Z, who also weren't told that they'd need legal representation when appealing to the Home Office, so their appeals were turned down even though they'd been good, worked hard, paid for their own doctors, and not sponged at all.

It might seem to them that Home Office Minister is heartless, a man of stone, but he is, in fact, a man frozen by fear. Let two stay, he may feel, then the flood gates shall open, the churches be packed with miscreants, and the country crammed with deceitful wanderers.

But so far, Home Office hasn't done too badly. Only 1,000 out of 10,000 pretend refugees from Cyprus are still in Britain, and Minister is determined to get rid of our two as well, because unlike the God in our church, Home Office Minister is a vengeful power, and in his book they who have fibbed shall be sought out, and then they shall be punished, and punished and punished.

Michele Hanson



Botha's reforms cannot prevent more Langas

As still more South African blacks fell to police bullets over the weekend, President Botha told American television that it was all a Communist plot, that nobody in the world would stop him maintaining law and order and that people who opposed his government did not get shot. Meanwhile, white opposition MP's from the Progressive Federal Party conducted a swift inquiry on the spot in the Uitenhage area of the Eastern Cape and came away convinced that the police had deliberately fired ball ammunition (as distinct from teargas, plastic bullets or shot) into Thursday's funeral procession although they had not been attacked.

Having considered the external implications of the Langa massacre here on Saturday, we may now concentrate on its internal significance. The first reaction of a rapidly lengthening line of foreign critics of apartheid included the understandable assertion that the police onslaught made a nonsense of President Botha's recent and high-sounding promises of reform. With clouds of smoke and cordite fumes still hanging over townships echoing the cries of grief and rage, this is a natural response, but it misses a number of points. In less than seven months since the new constitution came into force, excluding the black majority but giving other non-white groups a subordinate share in power, rather more than 200 Africans have been killed by the police in disturbances too numerous to count. In a protest against rumoured evictions at the Western Cape shanty-town of Crossroads last month, 18 were killed (only one less than last Thursday) and many more were injured than at Langa. In the worst confrontations of all in modern times, some 600 were killed in Soweto and other townships in 1976; at Sharpeville in 1960, the official death toll was 69. There is nothing unique or unprecedented about Langa except for the macabre coincidence that it took place on the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville. It could have happened at any time; it might have happened the previous Sunday except that the magistrate deferred the funeral to Thursday before banning it on that day.

So the truly shocking fact about Langa is that it was nothing over special apart from the date. It is of course not every day that the police kill, by their own almost certainly heavily understated admission, 19 people in a few minutes. But they do kill a lot of people in South Africa, especially at times of high discontent with the consequences of discrimination against blacks (twice as many dying in Soweto in 1976 from shots in the back as from wounds in the front). But, just as a road accident which kills one person barely merits a paragraph whereas one which kills 19 commands intense if fleeting attention, so the odd daily death by gunfire of an African at the hands of the South African police makes no waves while 19 at one go bring the world up short, especially on March 21. If South Africa looks bad after Langa, it was no better before it, for those who wished to see.

If it is wrong after Langa to believe Mr Botha the reformer it was no less so beforehand. People have been speaking of times running out ever since Sharpeville but the direct threat to white domination by force is no more real a quarter of a century later. All one can say is that the African majority is much more impatient. The President's position is as clear today as it was a week, a month or a year ago: he will initiate reform, just you wait and see, but he will not tolerate the unrest which persistently proves it to be overdue. The real flaw in his approach is not so much the contradiction between the peacemaker and the paranoid policeman as his determination to impose reform from above rather than negotiate with those who demand it. To convince South African blacks and the outside world alike of his sincerity, Mr Botha should rein in the police by repealing unjust laws and enter unconditional talks with such as Mr Nelson Mandela. The alternative is a series of Langas which may, or may not coalesce into general revolt.

Whatever the moves, Haughey has the veto

A proper caution is being encouraged on both sides of the Irish Sea about reports of an imminent new departure in Northern Irish politics, Anglo-Irish relations, or both. Dr Garret FitzGerald, speaking in London on Friday about the need for "a novel political structure," was not saying anything novel himself. He has long recognised (where his opponents in the republic have not) that a unique problem needs a unique response. Whether we get one or not will initially depend more on Mrs Thatcher than on him, for it is not obvious that her radicalism extends to Ireland. Whether the resulting arrangement could be made to work would thereafter depend largely on the attitude of the opposition party in Dublin. Before the last Anglo-Irish summit a good deal of unwarranted excitement was generated, in Irish rather than British speculation, which left the Taoiseach sadly exposed when Mrs Thatcher flatly rejected all three of the options in the New Ireland Forum report (unity, federation and joint sovereignty). She may well have felt that there had been enough mincing of words.

The Rev Ian Paisley in a characteristic over-reaction to the latest crop of hints, shouted yesterday that the "destiny" (pregnant word) of Ulster would be decided not in Dublin but "here," by which he meant Belfast. He is wrong on that score. If Northern Ireland wishes to remain part of the union it will presumably be decided where the union government sits and that is Westminster. That is more than a quibble. The Unionists are rightly promised that no change in their constitutional status will take place without the consent of the majority. That veto, however, cannot apply to agreements which Britain may make with Dublin about how Northern Ireland shall be governed without any change in status. If Mr Paisley does not agree to that he is not a unionist but a separatist.

Yet the bigger hurdle to the sort of agreement which would put the IRA out of business is still erected south of the border. Sinn Féin and Mr Charles Haughey's Fianna Fáil party have their most important aim in common, and that is the unification of Ireland whether the Protestants in the North agree to it or not. Fianna Fáil must be believed when it condemns IRA atrocities, and indeed Fianna Fáil governments have treated the IRA with justice every bit as rough as that meted out by the British. The fact remains that Sinn Féin derives political respectability from the Irish constitution and from Fianna Fáil's unwillingness to examine the "other views" to which a glancing reference is made in the Forum report. Any far-reaching agreement between Mrs Thatcher and Dr FitzGerald would have cross-party support in Britain. It would be most unlikely to receive it in the Dail, for then the chief reason for Fianna Fáil's existence would disappear. A leader other than Mr Haughey may one day allow the party to lower its sights and modify the national claim so that Britain can meet it. In the meantime, the veto to worry about is not so much the one held by the Protestants over Irish unity as the one Mr Haughey holds over anything, however sensible, which stops short of it.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Voucher plan fit only for the healthy

Sir—I have read your reports on vouchers for health care (Guardian March 18 and 21) with considerable alarm. The incentives the plan supposedly offers are: freedom of choice for patients (which they already have if they demand it); and cost-consciousness for GPs (which we already have).

What will happen is that GPs will offer the cheapest possible care to only the most healthy. Many people do not register with a GP until they are ill, so the voucher would only be so-called if the illness was mild enough to show a profit. The GP must avoid admitting a patient to hospital, so what happens to maternity, diabetes, asthma, surgery, hypertension, etc., only a fool would accept their vouchers. The other incentive is to offer comfortable short-term care—the patient may take his voucher elsewhere if I suggest he stop smoking or lose weight.

If the problem is the cost of hospital care then why not offer the hospitals some economic incentives? Allow each consultant to control his own budget—this has been shown to cut costs.

Blood Ba'ath

Sir—Well, it is nice to see that the US "tits" towards Iraq are finally getting some recognition even if it has taken five years (Alex Brummer, March 20).

When Saddam Hussein invaded Iraq in September 1980, he hoped that by crushing the Iranian regime he would win the gratitude of the US. He was disappointed. He received encouragement from the US administration, besieged by the hostage crisis, and possibly even from the Israelis. US engineering and financial support has given Iraq a high capacity to export oil. Recently the Americans have provided Iraq with around \$1 billion of credits, though it has managed to channel most of its support through its allies in the region despite its professed neutrality.

The substantial and overt backing from the West is the key factor in Iraq's ability to sustain the war in spite of its apparent weakness. A combination of repression and a fear of invasion has saved the Iraqi regime from inevitable collapse. The narrowness of the regime in Tehran has made it look a very unsatisfactory alternative to the Ba'athist regime in Iraq. However, the militant Western radicalism of Khomeini's Islam has already found its echo in the Middle East.

Contrary to what Brummer says, Saddam has never refused to risk "wholesale slaughter" in fact if you consider that the Iraqi population is only a third of the population of Iran, the mounting opposition against the Ba'athist regime in Iraq, the regime's deep internal crisis and the thousands of deserters and evaders of military service, you realise that Saddam has pushed into the war incalculable more human and material resources than the regime can sustain—Yours (Dr) M. Ali Essex.

while improving care. The scheme is obviously designed to promote private medicine. The addition of insurance will produce, not a tier, but multi-tier care—the more you pay, the more you get. Unfortunately Mr Brown's best possible medicine for all is not economically possible, but reasonable, safe care is attainable. This scheme removes the incentives to provide it.

In common with many other practices, we already do minor surgery, ECGs, care of diabetics, hypertension, ante-natal care etc. in order to cut down hospital usage. I will accept patients home as early as the hospital discharges them. This scheme will affect both patients and doctors. It will suit the rich and healthy to the detriment of the poor and ill who must be informed soon if they are to act to stop it. Do you know that insurance schemes will not cover you if you are ill already? Take note if you are diabetic or hypertensive—Yours sincerely (Dr) Simon Lansdowne, Paignton.

Sir—Nobody who understands the National Health Service system of general

Unjust tax on keeping the car in the garage

Sir—The RAC posture concerning those "marginal motorists" in lower income groups who travel low mileages but have no way of cutting the (additional £10) cost of putting their cars on the road ("Motorists give upward groan" Guardian, March 20).

I am sure the hierarchy of the RAC's lobbying activities fully appreciate that the greatest benefit to this group—and others who cannot afford the £100 to put any car on the road—is the transfer of vehicle excise duty (road tax) on to petrol, with the Budget £10 increase being accommodated as the equivalent of around three pence per gallon. And this is the last the season's lobbying will see. The RAC's complete transfer of taxation from vehicle ownership to fuel.

The break even point between gainers and losers is, I understand, around 9-10,000 miles per annum at an average 35 mpg.

Research and Government figures suggest that there would be numerically more

Miscellany

Sir—I noted with interest the Diary item on the Clive Ponting jury's election as a Union of Liberal Students Vice-President. I'm surprised that you didn't mention that they beat Clive Ponting in the process. — Yours faithfully, Martin Todd, Cambridge ULS.

Sir—I had a dream the other night; member of the Royal Family demonstrated his independence by saying, "I name this ludicrously expensive white elephant the Stanley International Airport" and refused to waste perfectly good champagne on it—Cheers. J. Grubb, Sheffield.

practice could possibly contemplate the voucher system now being floated. These theorists are obsessed with treatment. They imagine that every doctor-patient transaction is one of treatment being prescribed.

Free and open access to GPs is so marvellously economical because to a large extent it avoids unnecessary treatment and also unnecessary investigations—X-rays, blood tests, etc. On the basis of our experience, we GPs are very often able to say: "You will soon be all right. No treatment needed," and then we add the safeguard: "But come and see me again on Friday, just to be sure."

Nobody who pays cash or has to surrender a precious voucher will stand for this. He will want the works from the start—full examination, X-rays, the lot in so many cases these will be unnecessary, wasted expenditure for the service and time for the patient.

The quick, cheap, and mutually satisfactory way in which so much of general practice is conducted is at the root of our being able up to now to afford a medical service which, for all its faults, was broadly comprehensive while the Americans, for instance, for all their wealth could not—Yours (Dr) Roger James, Somerset Town Health Centre, Southsea, Portsmouth.

Blue Cross insurance in the US is obtained at a reasonable rate only through group subscriptions, usually at one's place of work, and it covers only the truly unusual, hospitalisation. Ordinary doctor's visits and prescriptions are still paid for as they arise (unless one opts for a much more expensive insurance policy which covers medical costs).

Those who give birth to a



gainers than their high mileage brethren of "losers." Public opinion polls have indicated a majority in favour of such a tax switch on grounds of equity—besides offering a useful spur to energy conservation, more careful driving and a reduction in city congestion through motivation to car sharing and/or some switch to public transport. The fears of rural users—many of whom do very similar annual mileages to suburban motorists—could be alleviated by selective action, e.g. refinements to the state support grant system, or direct subsidy comparable to ferry subsidies at present.

A COUNTRY DIARY

CHESHIRE: Thick mist lay over the fields as we drove to the mews for the mid-March wildflower count, the last of the season. We were not surprised, therefore, to find the deep bowl in which the mere lies, full of white vapour, and visibility restricted to a narrow strip of water against the nearest bank. As we walked through the mere, we could at first see little life upon the water but, as the sun broke through and the mist began to shred away, we noticed a large flock of gulls close to the bank. Apparently the birds, which have roosted on the mere, are reluctant to leave in the morning when visibility is poor. We emerged from the wood to find bright sunshine, the water as blue as the sky above it. The dead reeds burned to a border of gold. At frequent intervals, as we walked across the mere, we saw pairs of Canada geese, which had been foraging in the neighbouring fields. A few to alight upon the water where we could hear them talking quietly to each other. Now that we could see over the whole area of the mere, it was obvious that there had been a dramatic decline in the numbers of wildfowl since the very cold weather of February. We counted 11

sickly child needing extra medical care, or who lose their job (and with it their Blue Cross group subscription); or whose health fails as they get older, face an open-ended drain on their finances which is never pleasant and can lead to financial ruin. In America, the full pay for the health services, in this country, are all pay.

The "spilling medical costs" are truly enormous in America, where a doctor was always assumed to be well-off, rather like a barrister here. There were, and no doubt still are, many noble exceptions, doctors who treat poor patients for little or no fee as an act of common humanity. Medical costs in this country are the lowest in the Western world, for a service which is truly universal, though under threat from financial stringency.

For both these problems HMOs supply a partial remedy. What possible benefit can arise from adopting an HMO system? To a problem which Britain, for a variety of reasons solved far more comprehensively 40 years ago? Yours, J. Warren, Garsington, Oxford.

The Nature Conservancy Council may have paid £430,000 for the site by compulsory purchase, but you fail to mention that Fountain bought the land for only £200,000 just two years ago. They have now been paid forestry values for land where they were not permitted to plant trees. They bought the land knowing it was an SSSI, and in the knowledge that they could make a speculative gain under the terms of the Wildlife and Countryside Act.

Growth area

Sir—Once again your reporting of the property speculation, carried out by Fountain Forestry at Cruickshank, misses the point (Guardian March 21).

One can imagine how "reluctant" Fountain Forestry were to sell at a profit of £130,000 for doing nothing. The deal was one of "waste of public money" in that they should have received no more than their original purchase price for the land—Yours, (Dr) J. Farquharson, Bonnyrigg, Edinburgh.

It is quite clear why the South African apartheid regime wants to close the 58-day picket—City Group pickets outside South Africa House, which have been held regularly since the end of the 84-day picket—the embargo is their maximum point of pain in the sanctions. What is not clear at all is why it is so important to people allegedly giving solidarity to the South African people that these pickets should close.

Division over apartheid

The important thing for us all is to build solidarity in this country, not to let the struggle in South Africa be allowed to affect this support. N. B. Kisson, 86 Riversdale Road, London N5.

But the most prominent area of British evasion is, of course, the economic. British investment in too great and too extensive to be jeopardised. Successive governments have acted on this "principle," and numerous talk-outs exist to make it sound respectable. Some of them are true enough. Full-scale economic sanctions could never be imposed. A policy of partial divestment is completely impractical. Any country which took either of those radical courses would simply be outflanked and impoverished by the sanctions evaders, as witness the profligating of West Germany, Israel and the US from the arms embargo respected by others.

These forceful arguments rule out extreme measures as simply futile. But behind them lie the positions which really ensure that the Government will do nothing whatever if it can help it. One of these says that it is not our business to interfere in the affairs of another country except, presumably, by shouting at it when intolerably provoked. The other says that British jobs will always count for more than any scruple about the apartheid state. Even while Mr Riffkind writes his dis-chamber-of-commerce delegations from provincial business community, with Foreign Office help, as zealously as ever.

SO BOTH A was right. The British do not care in any way that really counts. And Worrall is right. Any disingenuous explanation of that little trouble at the Cape is welcome, however perverted.

Nor is there any longer a serious compulsion coming from the other side to make us reconsider. After the economic sanctions debate got

Fighting talk which masks an indifference to apartheid

going about 20 years ago, there were moments when a painful choice seemed to lie before Western governments which prated about apartheid. Trade with South Africa—but sacrifice your trade with Nigeria's ruling economy, not to mention the dirty deals black Africa itself has been forced to make with its most-hated enemy, put that in sick perspective. That brutal fact is that no immediate sanction now exists against any government which trades with or invests in South Africa.

Tomorrow, as it happens, the Foreign Office is holding a private meeting to discuss its Southern Africa policy. A few outsiders will be present. No doubt economic sanctions will again be on the agenda. The swelling anger of influential American opinion has put them there. So has the Commonwealth Secretary-General, who last month for the first time called for the preparation of a phased programme of sanctions. So have such magisterial South African blacks as Bishop Desmond Tutu, who has 18 months to prove that constructive engagement means something more than the freedom to oppress with impunity.

The meeting, no doubt, will be confused, and its conclusions will be prevaricated, even on the modest point of letting future investment. Let us hope that it at least examines the sanctimonious rhetoric of last week with a steady eye. For somewhere truth, at least, exists its own number of times a government can express shock and horror and disgust while at the same time pursuing policies which year by year shore up the object of this anathema, and solidify economic dependence on it.

Fighting talk which masks an indifference to apartheid



Hugo Young

A YEAR AGO, Mr P W Botha made a tour of Europe. For his government, it was a hugely successful operation. Everyone from Pope to prime minister received the South African leader with businesslike civility. The visits produced some wonderfully reassuring photographs back home. The reception of the Republic into the concert of nations seemed to be proceeding fast.

For the Botha party, however, the most pleasurable moral to be drawn from the tour concerned not South Africa but Europe. They said privately that they had made an interesting discovery: Europe no longer really cared about apartheid. European leaders had gone through the motions of criticism, but were now making it clear that this was all it was: a ritual.

Mrs Thatcher, by astute news management, had conveyed the public impression of giving Mr Botha a wigging. But this was merely the preliminary to a "realistic" discussion. Prime Minister Craxi, in Rome, had been even more blatant, telling Mr Botha openly that his words of approval were only a matter of form. Europe, it seemed to the South African, was not supported by

the police but gunned down by them. What they seek is not endorsed but opposed by the government. Minor motives for the petty apartheid conceal only from the most unseeing eyes the fact that the entire structure of the South African state is designed to suppress genuine political reform. To find this equated with the Kennedy and Johnson years in the US is to discover the Big Lie made coolly manifest.

But perhaps that is the way the Europeans want it. There has been a great outcry. All governments have offered the most eloquent condemnations. The occasion has been the occasion for a convenient, un-complicated moralising to prove they are on the right side. The rituals the Botha party noticed last year have been performed with passion. The question is whether even now the West will change its conduct by one jot—or instead, fall gratefully on Dr Worrall's subversion of the truth.

THE NEW CENTRE of this debate is Washington. American economic sanctions are the one challenge Pretoria fears; and, for reasons nobody can fully explain, the apartheid state has suddenly captured the hostile imagination of grassroots American politicians. An impressive growth in street protest has accompanied a variety of bills which are being put through Congress. The common thrust of these is not full-scale sanctions but the stopping of new American investment in South Africa.

But the Congress is not the whole of Washington. There is also the President, hooked on a policy of "constructive engagement" which, being decided, means that the best way of making South Africa better for

blacks is to make it safe for Western capitalism. Mr Reagan can veto any anti-apartheid bill, and his benignly conciliatory reaction to Langa suggests he will do so.

And what about Britain? Britain has engaged with the South African question for long. Britain's expressions of horror last week, mainly through the junior minister Mr Riffkind, were as well-honed as any. Nor has Mrs Thatcher been meanly-mouthed in her condemnation of apartheid. But what does Britain actually want to do by way of rendering its disgust into some thing more than rapid eloquence?

The answer is: Not much. British policy is confused. There have been glimpses of an occasional willingness to take life into its own hands for Pretoria. The raids on Mozambique used to be briskly condemned. A few weeks ago Mrs Thatcher surprised some people by calling for the unconditional release of the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela. More recently, on the other hand, Mr Riffkind has confusedly said Britain will not talk to the ANC until it renounces violence.

The truth is that the British Government is prepared to take no risk and pay no price in practical support of its moralising. Among the more conspicuous victims of South African might, for example, are Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana. A government honestly committed against Pretoria's methods would have offered these Commonwealth countries some solidarity in face of South African bullying and blackmail. Britain, instead, has urged them to sign treaties, expel the ANC and comply with all their neighbours' demands.

Division over apartheid

Sir—Seumas Milne has got it all wrong! Before the start of the 1982 86-day picket, I had meetings with Mike Terry of the AAM and with my comrades in the ANC, including the then Chief Representative, Ruth Mompoti, who were in complete agreement that a non-stop picket of South Africa House should proceed, starting on August 25. Political prisoners, including Dave, had been held in the condemned section of Pretoria Central Jail for nearly three years and their health was suffering.

Although I had full approval from both organisations, I had started and I arranged a meeting with Sonia Bunting, head of the ANC Political Prisoners Committee to discuss the matter. She told me that I could hold a picket for Dave—as he was a member of my family—but not for Mandela or other political prisoners because that was the job of their committee.

It was a dreadful dilemma. The picket had been widely advertised and until a couple of days before its commencement, 1982 Labour MPs signed an Early Day Motion for the release of political prisoners. City Group had the total support of the liberation and solidarity movements. Now they were both supportive—but holding opposite views about the nature of the picket.

The 86-Day Non-Stop Picket (which was the time it took for the prisoners to be moved to better conditions) was a great success, and of course, as anyone will know who attended it—it emphasised Dave, particularly on his birthday, but it called for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners.

We participated in and enhanced all the AAM National activities, brought many new members into the movement and brought the subject of apartheid in South Africa to thousands upon thousands of people. We always considered ourselves as part of the AAM movement and have never tried to take it over and still do not want to do so.

We also received wide acclaim from many people in the vanguard of the struggle in South Africa and, as everyone knows who was there, we had leading ANC and SWAPO members on our picket and at our pavement universities.

It is quite clear why the South African apartheid regime wants to close the 58-day picket—City Group pickets outside South Africa House, which have been held regularly since the end of the 84-day picket—the embargo is their maximum point of pain in the sanctions. What is not clear at all is why it is so important to people allegedly giving solidarity to the South African people that these pickets should close.

The important thing for us all is to build solidarity in this country, not to let the struggle in South Africa be allowed to affect this support. N. B. Kisson, 86 Riversdale Road, London N5.

EUROPE and Japan are gearing up for what could be the next big consumer electronics revolution: high-definition television, yielding picture quality far ahead of existing standards, and with the capability for a wide-screen format just like the movies.

One route to the television picture for the 1990s is based on British electronic design, the Multiplexed Analogue Components transmission system developed by the independent Broadcasting Authority's engineers for direct-broadcast satellite transmissions and offering Europe a united front. The alternative is being developed in the Far East. And guess who's in front?

Japan, with state broadcaster NHK and manufacturers like Sony leading the way, is pumping millions into technology to provide wide-screen high-definition television pictures, using effective twice the number of lines of its 625-line system, either beamed by satellite or played off a VCR.

The cameras have been built, the video recorders tested, and transmission proved possible by a series of satellite broadcasts to a select audience at night. All it takes is for the receiver industry to get moving and the next television-centred revolution is born.

But Europe — albeit sporadically and with a lamentable lack of unity — is beginning to light back. Or the receiver industry, what's left of it, is. The broadcasters are fighting mostly amongst themselves.

Europe's answer to high-

As the next leap in TV technology reaches production, Robin Shenfield watches European manufacturers struggle to wipe the broad grins off the faces of their Japanese rivals

A wide angle of attack

definition television is Mac, designed to transmit improved quality pictures by using a more efficient method of existing television technology. It has been accepted as the European standard for future direct broadcasting by satellite service.

The European receiver industry, including giants like Philips, is unreservedly keen, not least because of the prospect of a Europe-wide consumer electronic market which Japan, for once, has shown little sign of entering. If it is to be HDTV world-wide, Japanese-made VCRs would flood in for a repeat of the wipe-out of Philips's ineffectual V2000 home video format by the VHS and Betamax boom. Mac is their only hope.

But the broadcasters are squabbling, as they have been for several years. It all started when Britain went unilateral with Mac and the French said "Non." The back-room and boardroom furors have barely abated since.

The problem is that the C-Mac system adopted by Britain is good for satellite broadcasting — for which there is ample frequency spectrum available — but less good for so-called narrow-band cable television networks, of which France has more than a few.

The result has been a compromise which recognises three variations on the original, ranging from the full C-Mac down to the French favourite D2-Mac. The handling of the television picture is unchanged in each but the number of digital sound channels available drops from eight to four.

For the receiver industry, it could have been worse. It is confident it can produce, at very little extra cost, receivers adaptable for any one

of the three variations while retaining a broad sweep across the market. But each will need to be programmed for one or other at the factory — which is bad news for the consumer, who in France will be able to watch French satellite broadcasts but not British, and vice versa. Free trade in television, even in the EEC, is a non-starter.

The problem gets more complex still. At the IBA, engineers say that by taking over only two of the eight available digital sound channels that go with C-Mac, they can produce not just better-looking pictures but wider screen ones as well — and on a par with Japanese high-definition. Extra picture information transmitted in the six spare sound channels can be combined with the main picture in the receiver, on a screen of almost

cinemascope proportions — an aspect ratio of 5:3 instead of 4:3. Those with existing TV sets would still get better pictures than before.

For the first time viewers would be able to watch movies at home in the manner in which they are made: normally a 35mm film has to be drastically topped and tailed to fit the small screen or worse, redressed in size to a letterbox bordered in black.

The engineers have already proved to themselves that the system — Extended C-Mac — is possible and this summer are hoping to transmit it by satellite to a broadcaster's meeting in Switzerland for side-by-side comparisons with Japanese high-definition.

"We're confident that on screens of up to a metre across it will be very difficult to tell which is which," says IBA spokesman Chris Daub-



ney. "In home viewing there would be nothing to choose between them."

With that kind of parity, the IBA believes that Europe's first DBS broadcasters, probably France and Germany, will have the confidence to start broadcasting with Mac in the knowledge that something even better is in the pipeline.

But again there are problems. The Mac variations developed for Europe, which have never sound channels, cannot be upgraded at a future date for wide-screen broadcasts. "Any compromise in the C-Mac system is undesirable, it means fewer options, in the long term, for broadcasters using it," says the IBA.

Another possibility, wrecking hopes of European unity still further, is that France and Germany may opt to stick with conventional colour television standards after all. Neither has made any firm commitment to the Mac system so far. Germany is believed to be backing Mac, even though switching to it on its planned DBS services could lose it politically valuable East German audience unable to buy the necessary decoders. France, spurred to a new sense of urgency by the participation of the United States in the project, is still an unknown.

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Media File....

A FRISSEON of impending change is being felt in one of the most refined corners of the British book business — and, indeed, one of the least established examples of commercial sponsorship of artistic endeavour. The Shell County Guides, funded by the petrol company, edited by the late Sir John Betjeman and John Piper, have been published since 1939 by Faber and Faber. But now, the word has gone out that Shell wish to "review" the nature and format" of the publications.

In other words, time for a change — and other publishing houses have been quick to sniff out the chance of getting the contract for a lucrative long-runner. Admirers of the guides, to date, on the other hand sensed that this might be death or a fate worse — something more brutally commercial than what this interesting perpendicular window in the north axis, much more of the car parking space off the high street.

The come may well out to be far more intriguing. Though all concerned are keeping their cards close to the chest, the contenders for the publishing deal include Secker and Warburg, Joseph, Penguin, and, some say, even Reader's Digest but the whisper about the editorship is that John Piper will get a new publisher, the sensitive and artistic Mr Richard Ingrams.

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Christopher Reed gets the picture of how television may form some bad habits

Why move 'n munch is a normal lunch

THE student of America, puzzled by the paradoxes of Reaganism and the New Populism, the beatification of the medical profession or even why Americans have such slovenly eating habits, can turn to Professor George Gerbner.

Dean of the Annenberg school of communications at the University of Pennsylvania, his may not be the last word but his 17 years of studies into television's influence on social dispositions such as these are well worth examination.

Dr Gerbner and his researchers studied light and heavy viewers — the latter watching more than four hours a day, nearly half the total US audience. They found that in comparisons of the two types, heavy viewers from otherwise very different social groups tended to share social and political perceptions more than light viewers, blurring traditional differences and particularly eroding working-class consciousness.

Commercial television's need for vast audiences pulls its content, and its viewers, towards mainstream blandness. Thus heavy viewers tended to regard themselves as "average", "middle class" and politically "moderate" in spite of their actual status or opinions, a pattern unique to television, Dr Gerbner found.

In fact, their opinions were often well to the right of what would normally be regarded as centrist, especially on topics such as race, minorities, personal rights, freedom of speech, and law and order. This probably reflects television's portrayal of a dangerous and nasty world through its dramatisation of crime, and obsession with disaster and mayhem on the news.

Heavy viewers were not conservative in economics and social services, however. Here they demonstrated the populist distrust of big government and resentment of taxes, and the paradoxical demand for beneficial government services, and the quick economic fix.

Dr Gerbner believes this stems from commercial television's "mass mobilisation for consumption." As a temple devoted to advertisement, glorification of instant gratification, it is bound to encourage fast and simple solutions to material desires.

These paradoxes can be more readily understood on a closer examination of the world American television creates and those who live in it. Average viewers see 300 screen characters a week in prime time, most of whom are apparent realists but bearing little relation either to their counterparts in real life or the viewers' real world.

Violence is seen six times per hour in prime time, of which two incidents per evening are fatalities, so that a 16-year-old heavy viewer will have seen about 7,000 screen deaths. Women and older people, although actually under-represented in comparison with reality, are disproportionately the victims of "young-white-males" violence, and are least likely to be victims — the opposite of the real world where they are the most prone to injury or death, after young black males.

Tele-violence further contributes to heavy viewers' reactionary opinions. Minorities who see themselves more often on the losing end of violence are more fearful than they need to be of their own victimisation. One result of this apprehension is increased support of right wing law and order oppression.

Dr Gerbner's findings on television's causal influence on social attitudes can often vividly illuminate previously mystifying behaviour.

Why, for instance, do Americans eat and drink in public so much? They gobble and gulp junk food and soft drinks while going up in lifts, driving their cars, or shopping. Dr Gerbner points out that each evening's prime time, shows nine acts of eating and drinking, mostly on the run. Families sitting down to a balanced meal are hardly ever shown. He believes it is connected to an attempt to resolve frustration, a point echoed by US dieticians who constantly warn America's overweight millions against "compulsive eating."

The implications of all this are troubling, and could pre-empt some volatile politics. Dr Gerbner says: "We are only now discovering our environment of symbols and messages and realising that as with other things, these are also mass produced."

"Perhaps what we need most of all is a prime-time programme selecting viewers to the hidden political messages behind the messages they know about."



Brenda Polan, the Guardian's fashion editor, gives the lie to ideas that fashion journalism is one long party

Hurt in action at the runway—should be mentioned in the swatches

SOME myths are more persistent than others. One of the hardest to dispel concerns the daily lifestyle of fashion editors. In the minds of most people we are not real journalists but frivolous social butterflies who, fuelled by champagne and canapés, flitter, pattered and thoughtless, from little gilt chair to little gilt chair, our only preoccupation how close that chair is to the front row.

Even show business reporters and motoring correspondents, whose consumption of champagne and canapés far exceeds that of any fashion editor, are allowed to be proper jacks, men in hose for a scoop, a valuable contact book and deadlines to meet.

Part of the answer is that, predominantly, show business reporters and motoring correspondents are men, and fashion editors are women. And even when all the evidence is otherwise, men's jobs are serious and tough, women's, since the poor dears have neither the physical nor the intellectual stamina enjoyed by men, are not.

Neither the Princess of Wales who attended last Tuesday's Lancaster House reception for British designers and manufacturers and thrilled foreign buyers and press express it that way of course. They emphasise design. This is not really sophistry since Britain trains the best designers in the world — between 400 and 500 of them graduating in fashion each year.

The result is that the corps of women who, in mythology, lead such a trivial, spoiled and easy life, have one of the toughest jobs in journalism requiring physical and mental stamina of a very high order.

We returned, more than a little debilitated, from sitting through a plastic chair in huge auditorium through a couple of dozen 40-minute fashion shows in Milan, took a few hours to write up our reports and handed to the seething, oxygenless Pillar Hall at Olympia for the first of 35 shows which make up London Fashion Week.

On Friday, Saturday and Sunday we watched eight shows a day, trudging through rain and sleet between Olympia and the Commonwealth Centre in Kenton.

Halfway through Friday afternoon my colleague from The Times turned a glassy

eye in my direction and enquired in faltering tones: "Is it Saturday today?" I replied: "No, it's still Friday." For it is not just the sitting and watching, blinded by trendily strobing lights, which exhausts. Fashion show organisers, be they British, Italian or French, prefer a venue for several hundred spectators with one constricted entrance, a nice crush and the chances of a near-riot.

The British organisers like confusion within the tents and showrooms as well. So instead of numbering the seats as both the French and Italians do, they put your name on yours and leave you to find it. If some hard-faced, stony-hearted opportunist with a standing room only ticket or one of the hundreds of unwitting fashion groupies and students has usurped your seat, now are you to know unless you challenge everyone to reveal the name obscured by their body?

But front-row seats, although they bestow status, bring penalties of their own. Between them and the raised runway on which the models will parade is a narrow aisle, a shuffle-way really. Here crouch the photographers. Or rather, here they stand, crowd, elbow and lean.

They are supposed to crouch so that the view of the very important fashion editors and the view of the very important buyers is unimpeded. The old guard do, indeed, crouch. But the less refined of clickers have elbowed their way to the front.

They use their metal camera cases as battering rams, swing tripods to clear a way through the waiting crowd and they do not crouch.

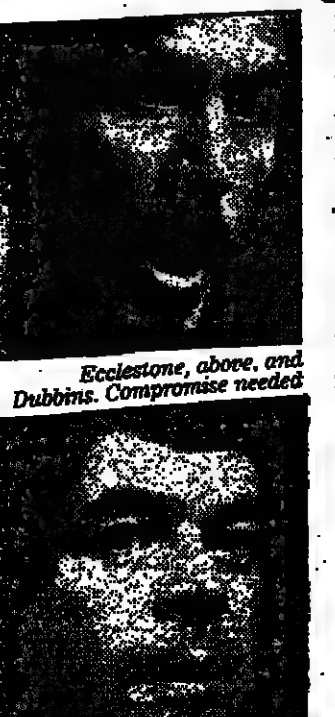
So chaos reigns and on the foetid atmosphere, germs and viruses are exchanged freely. We endure because we are covering an important industry and we are doing it responsibly, seriously, toughly.

Once it was over we, again, had a few hours to write our copy and choose our pictures before the models came back with it, moved on to Paris. As you read this on Monday morning, spare a compassionate thought for me, standing in a queue in the Jardins des Tuileries, chilly garbed in heavy-duty mackintosh and wellies, nose running and head aching, waiting to be allowed entrance to yet another foetid, germ-filled tent, lower lip, most probably, trembling.

Last week (left), London, this week, Paris. But everywhere the same crush. Picture by Frank Martin

Whose job is it anyway?

Patrick Wintour on the background to the new technology fight between the NUJ and NGA.



Ecclestone, above, and Dubbins. Compromise needed

EVEN by the unrestrained rhetorical standards of the labour movement, relations between the National Graphical Association and the National Union of Journalists have reached some kind of nadir in recent weeks.

It is not only that one union's deputy secretary of another as a cross between Von Ribbentrop and Judas Iscariot, but this week the NGA last week described the admittedly abrasive deputy general secretary of the NUJ, Mr Jake Ecclestone, for good measure the NGA also called for the expulsion of the NUJ from the TUC.

Since then a truce, but certainly not a peace treaty, has been agreed. They have agreed to try again to find a common approach to the introduction of new technology in the provincial newspaper industry.

As Mr Tony Dubbins, the general secretary of the NGA, acknowledges that "with the two unions scrapping about jurisdiction and jobs under new technology, the only per-

son who is benefitting is, of course, the employer."

It is common ground that the introduction of direct input as well as subbing and page make-up on electronic screen removes an existing work process. The NUJ argues that this eradicates the function of the compositor, the chief citadel of the NGA.

For its part the NGA argues that under direct input the traditional typesetting function of the compositor in relation to editorial and advertising copy is transferred to the electronic screen. The NGA claims that logically and legitimately its composing room members must be allowed to "follow their work" to the electronic screen and become sub-editors keying copy into computer phototypesetters.

The NUJ claims all this represents a specious justification to muscle into traditional NUJ areas of representation by a union threatened with extinction.

"These arguments have been acted out so far at two news-

papers, the Portsmouth News and the Wolverhampton Express and Star.

At Portsmouth News the NGA has signed a deal which allows NGA members to be transferred to work as full sub-editors whilst retaining NGA membership. The agreement was largely signed with the chief citadel of the NUJ, and represents dangerous precedent for the journalists.

Since the agreement was signed the NUJ has responded first by attempting to retrieve the situation at Portsmouth and secondly by retaliating elsewhere in the provincial press.

For over 14 weeks, at considerable cost to the NUJ, Portsmouth journalists have refused to work the new technology and as a consequence been locked out by the management. During the drawn-out negotiations, the union extracted a written agreement that there would only be a limited number of NGA members transferred to editorial and that they, although represented by the

NGA, could not receive different pay or conditions awards. More importantly, the NUJ believes that it has surprised the NGA by showing its willingness to fight.

Moreover, at the Express and Star, where the NUJ was locked out after refusing to cooperate with new technology in the tele-ad department — the NUJ went ahead and signed a direct input deal without its agreement. Under the deal the NUJ retains exclusive rights to represent journalists. It underlined the weakness of the NGA, traditionally seen as the stronger of the two unions in the provinces.

However, NGA bargaining power at Portsmouth and Wolverhampton has been seriously weakened by its inability to keep solidarity within its ranks. Significant numbers of its members have crossed their own union's picket lines and kept the newspapers in production. The NGA has been shown not to have the strength to take

on employers, the NUJ, Sogat in advertising and the law all at the same time. Hence, last week's agreement to talk.

The Wolverhampton and Portsmouth deals are not as far apart as rhetoric and geography suggest. Although at Wolverhampton the NUJ has an agreement to represent all journalists, management has also proposed to the NGA, and the NUJ has not totally rejected, that some NGA composers could be transferred into editorial areas acting as production co-ordinators whilst retaining NGA membership.

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assisting and following the instructions of journalists by operating page layout and output devices, including the collation of text and advertisements on electronic screen, and finally assisting with the final maintenance of all electronic equipment in the editorial area.

The NGA has so far said this does not go far enough. They want their transferees to become fully fledged sub-editors — writing headlines, correcting text, designing pages etc.

The NUJ proposed in December that a limited number of NGA members could become full sub-editors, but only so long as the NUJ received half its normal subscription from the transferees and only so long as the NUJ was the sole union for collective bargaining purposes in editorial areas.

It is around this area — the definition of a sub-editor's job and joint union membership — that a compromise must be found.

THE TECHNIQUES and experience of the BBC's television training department, still generally regarded as the place that feeds the entire television industry, are able to select a band of outsiders at the end of next month for a crash course and assessment. The Royal Television Society's latest television production course is backed by the BBC and four of their senior instructors will push just four teams of four students through a three-day residential cramming in presentation and 3-camera production. The bill hits £350 each, but the RTS sees it helping journalists, writers, advertisers, not just would-be stars.

The reports on satellite and such, from Ireland and Scandinavia, in last week's Media Page, were by Joe Joyce, Dublin, and Donald Fiddick, Helsinki.

Peter Fiddick
Media Editor

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We are looking for a lively, imaginative person with flair and enthusiasm to head our team of Arts Outreach Workers taking the Arts to the people and bringing the people to the Arts. Applicants should have an Arts background - but must be prepared to start initiating, promoting, experimenting and learning from Day 1. Don't wait - apply now!

Application forms and further details are available from the Director of Recreation, City Chambers, 249 High Street, Edinburgh EH1 1QR. Edinburgh District Council is an equal opportunities employer. Applications are invited from women and men, from all sections of the community, irrespective of ethnic origin, disability or sexual orientation, who have the necessary attributes for the post.

City of Edinburgh

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

English Language Teaching Division

An editorial assistant is sought to work on texts for the teaching of English as a foreign language.

Applicants must have at least two years experience of teaching English as a foreign language and have worked abroad. The successful candidate is likely to be in the 24-30 age range and hold an honours degree. A TEFL qualification and typing skills would be an advantage.

The position is based in Oxford and carries a salary in the range £2445 to £3241.

Applications by letter, with full c.v. and current salary to: Sue Johnson, Personnel Department, Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP.
Closing date: 1 April 1983.

Oxford English

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Starting salary £8,151 pa

Can you meet the challenge of editing British Standards - quality publications of national standing?

We are looking for a graduate with at least two years technical editing experience who would enjoy detailed, disciplined editing on a wide variety of technical subjects, and using communications and liaison skills in day to day work. Minimum age 23 years.

For full information and an application form, please telephone or write, quoting vacancy no. G3, to:

Ms E. MacArthur, Senior Personnel Officer,
British Standards Institution
2 Park Street, LONDON W1A 2BS
Telephone 01 629 9000 Ext 66

RESEARCHER/POLITICAL ANALYST

Information Consultancy firm in London requires a Research Assistant / Political Analyst.

Preferably a graduate, must have a perfect command of written and spoken, of both Arabic and English. Some journalistic experience an advantage. Knowledge of the political situation in the Middle East and the Arab World will be an asset. Willingness to travel and maintain close relations essential.

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Please reply in writing with full cv and references to:

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Apply with full CV to:
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To find out more, contact Bob White on 01-534 1387. H Publications Limited, Fourth Floor, Chronicle House, 72-78 Fleet Street, London EC4Y 1HY.

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For lots of immediate vacancies plus advice and information on job hunting, you need Graduate Post only - the only newspaper specifically for you.

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Further details please write with cv to:

South Coast Community Arts Centre, Castle Green, Brighton BN1 4JF. Tel Brighton 40271.

Closing date: 12th April, 1983.

Lancashire Constabulary**ASSISTANT PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER**

Grade S01 - £9,477-£10,107 p.a.

Car User Allowance

Disturbance allowance up to a maximum of £1,270.

We are looking for applicants with a background in journalism and preferably with public relations experience to assist and deputise for the Public Relations Officer.

Responsibilities will include handling Press inquiries, preparation of Press releases, organisation of publicity campaigns and reporting for the Constabulary magazine. The post is based at Lancashire Police Headquarters, Preston, near Preston.

Application forms, to be returned by 8th April, are available from the Civilian Personnel Manager, Lancashire Constabulary H.O., P.O. Box 77, Hutton, Preston PR4 5SB. Telephone: (0772) 814444, Ext. 417.

Lancashire County Council is an Equal Opportunities Employer

ASHFORD BOROUGH COUNCIL

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Research Assistant

Salary: £5922 - £6420 p.a.

There is a vacancy in the Chief Executive & Secretary's Department for a Research Assistant. The successful applicant will be expected to assist actively with the Economic Development and the Press and Public Relations functions of the Council.

Applicants should have or expect to obtain, a relevant degree or equivalent qualification.

Application form and job description available from Personnel Department, Civic Centre, Tannery Lane, Ashford, Kent. Telephone Ashford 37311, Ext. 407. Closing date: 9th April, 1983.

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Applicants must enjoy dealing with the public and have a lively interest in design. Experience of talking to groups and knowledge of a foreign language would be useful.

The starting salary is £5,866 pa for a 36 hour, 5 day week, including some Saturdays.

The Design Council is an equal opportunities employer.

For further details and an application form please contact:

Ms Gillian Webb
Personnel Officer
The Design Council
28 Haymarket
London SW1Y 4SU
Telephone 01-839 8000 ext 30

THE DESIGN COUNCIL

OPPORTUNITY IN PUBLISHING for a young graduate

Writers Monthly was launched last year its growth since then creates the opportunity for a young graduate to join our editorial staff. The ideal candidate will have a good English degree, be able to write, and be willing to tackle the day-to-day tasks of a busy editorial office (it will also be useful if he or she can type).

If you think you are the ideal candidate, please write and tell me why.

The Publishing Director, Writers Monthly, 18-20 High Road, Wood Green, London N22 6BX.

CHAPTER

Chapter, based in Cardiff and one of Europe's foremost centres for the contemporary arts, wishes to appoint a

FINANCE MANAGER

to take control of the centre's complex financial affairs. Turnover is over £700,000 p.a., so only candidates with proven accountancy and financial management experience need apply. Salary for the arts is essential. Salary £7,625 - £10,416 p.a.

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This is a key post in Chapter and applicants should have extensive and proven programme and management experience. The pending £500,000 capital development for cinema film and video (in effect establishing the national film theatre for Wales at Cardiff) makes this post one of the most attractive and exciting opportunities in Britain. Salary £7,625 - £10,416 p.a. Further details and application forms for both posts from Anne Scott, Chapter, Market Road, Canton, Cardiff CF1 10E. Tel: 0222 396061. Closing date for applications is Monday, April 18. Chapter is an Equal Opportunities Employer.

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William Collins, the renowned Publishing House, have several Secretarial vacancies suitable for varying levels of experience. Vacancies occur in Sales, Publicity, Liturgical, Software, Editorial and we also require a Secretary for our International MD.

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Please send CV's indicating salary expected to: Christine Maxwell, WILLIAM COLLINS & SONS LTD., 8 Grafton Street, London W1X 3LA

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ARTISTIC DIRECTOR

in

Battersea Arts Centre

This is the Centre's most senior post and requires someone with considerable experience of both the arts and management to head the staff of one of the country's largest and liveliest arts centres.

Send for job description to: The Secretary, Battersea Arts Centre, Old Town Hall, Lavender Hill, London SW11 5TF. Closing date for applications April 12.

THE SPECTATOR

is looking for a

PRODUCTION EDITOR/SUB-EDITOR

with experience of magazine production and a flair for the attractive verbal and visual presentation of articles. The post will be for 3-4 days per week.

Applications, with day-time telephone number, should be sent to:

The Editor, The Spectator, 56 Doughty Street, London WC1N 2LL

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To act as Year Tutor to the film/TV group within the final year of Higher National Diploma (BTEC) course in Visual Communication. Initial salaries within one or other of the following scales:

Lecturer 2: £7,548-£12,089.

Senior Lecturer: £11,175-£13,128 per to £14,081.

Required for 1st September, 1983

LECTURER GRADE 2

in

DESIGN FOR PRINT/PUBLISHING

Post 4.25

Mainly to teach and undertake tutorial duties within a BTEC Higher National Diploma course in Visual Communications. Salary scale: £7,548-£12,089.

Further details and application form can be obtained from the Principal, Suffolk College, Rope Walk, Ipswich, to whom completed forms should be returned within 14 days of this advertisement. Please send large size and quote post number.

Suffolk County Council

Researcher

The Special Programmes Department of London Weekend Television requires a Researcher to undertake development work on a modern historical subject.

The successful applicant will have the ability to digest and summarise quantities of books and documentary material and to seek out significant information and contacts and the judgement to distinguish between fact and fiction in a highly complex field.

The contract will be offered for an initial period of three months with the possibility of extension for a further six.

Telephone Helen Avey on 01-261 3140 for an application form, which should accompany a full cv. London Weekend Television, Kent House, Upper Ground, London SE1 9LT. Closing date for applications: 9 April 1983.

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LWN/TT

London Weekend Television

MANAGER, Television Training

A unique opportunity has arisen to manage Mersey - the television production training unit of Mersey Education Training & Enterprise (METEL).

Responsibilities will include practical training, video production, syllabus development and liaison with television related organisations.

The successful applicant will have a proven track record in television and or video production, with the drive, enthusiasm and confidence to establish Mersey as a foremost training initiative within the industry.

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MERSEY SCREEN

Write enclosing full CV to:
John Davies,
METEL, 6 Salisbury Street,
Liverpool L3 8DR.
Telephone: 051-207 2281 ext. 154.

Common Stock THEATRE COMPANY**YOUTH THEATRE DIRECTOR**

Common Stock Youth Theatre operates a policy of integration with Common Stock Theatre Company.

Please send s.a.e. for job description to: Youth Theatre Directors, 182, Hamersmith Rd, W6 7DU by April 4. Previous applicants need not reapply.

CST is an equal opportunities employer.

سكس من الرجال

We're looking for people to make light work of our publications...

At the Information Development Department of IBM's Development Laboratory in Hursley, near Winchester, we don't just produce user manuals. We're aiming to provide our customers with all the information they need to use our products by designing and developing a wide range of material - from tutorial and reference manuals and pocket-size reference summaries to on-line tutorial and 'Help' information. New hardware and software projects have created new prospects for talented people. Specifically, we're looking for high standards of professional ability in the following areas:

Editor

In this senior post, you'll act as a consultant to information designers and developers at all stages of publications development, help writers to ensure the effective presentation of technical material and edit draft material, both at content and copy-edit level.

You'll need considerable experience as a technical editor, an excellent command of English, and the ability to communicate effectively with others. Some knowledge of computer hardware and software is essential.

Writers

To design and write instructional literature for hardware and software produced at Hursley.

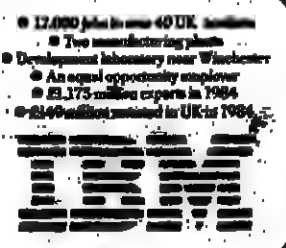
You may currently be a professional writer with a working knowledge of computer hardware and software, or a computer professional (a programmer, for example). You will have to convince us you've got what it takes to become a successful technical writer.

Publishing specialist

You'll co-ordinate publishing and printing work, liaising with writers, artists, printers and IBM distribution centres and manufacturing plants. The work also involves supervising and, when necessary, assisting with the preparation of camera-ready copy.

As well as being a capable negotiator with a sound working knowledge of the printing process, including colour graphics, you should also have experience in the use of automated text-processing and graphics systems. We're asking a lot in terms of experience and ability but then we're offering a lot in return: a highly competitive salary and benefits package which includes free life insurance, contributory pension scheme and BUPA membership. Relocation assistance will be provided where appropriate.

Please write for an application form to Ron Stott, Personnel Officer, IBM United Kingdom Laboratories Limited, FREEPOST, Hursley Park, Winchester, Hants, SO21 2BR.



IBM

...not heavy reading

LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE AND TROPICAL MEDICINE

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene and Health Policy and Planning

An editorial assistant is required to deal with the editorial, secretarial and administrative work for the bi-monthly journal published by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Candidates should have practical editorial experience, good secretarial and administrative skills and be able to work largely unattended. Routine tasks are computerised, while editing papers will be a major activity. Previous editorial experience with a medical journal would be an advantage. A successful candidate will be responsible for the journal's layout and design. The post is also being advertised by the School and the editorial assistant will probably work for both journals, when the post will be negotiable around three-quarters time.

Salary will be proportionate to time worked, on a full-time scale upwards from £2,000 plus London weighting according to experience.

Please write with full details of qualifications and experience to the Editor, Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, London, WC1E 7HT.

Closing date: 15th April, 1985.

THE COLLEGE OF RIPON AND YORK ST JOHN

Lecturer Grade IV Senior Lecturer

(Film and Television)

Applications are invited for the post of Lecturer in Film and Television Studies at the College of Ripon and York St John. The successful candidate will be responsible for the delivery of lectures and seminars, and for the supervision of students.

Further details and application forms may be obtained from the Principal, College of Ripon and York St John, Lord Mayors Walk, York YO1 1EX to whom completed forms should be returned to arrive not later than FRIDAY April 25, 1985.

SUPREMA

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UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

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Applications are invited for the position of Theatre Designer in Drama, which on this occasion will be part-time within the Department of Drama. The Fellow will be expected to be part-time within the Department of Drama.

Detailed particulars governing the Fellowship may be obtained from the Registrar and Secretary, University of Bristol, Senate House, Bristol BS1 1TH. Applications, including names and addresses of three referees, should be received no later than April 22, 1985.

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For an application form and job description contact the Personnel Department, Arts Council, 105 Piccadilly, London W1V 0AU. Tel: 01-225 9495 Ext. 255. Closing date for receipt of applications: 10th April 1985.

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The Unit will welcome applications from all sections of society, irrespective of an individual's gender, ethnic origin, colour or sexual orientation. Applications from disabled people are welcome although wheelchair access is poor. Job sharing will be considered.

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Mrs Thatcher's uncompromising weekend speech was greeted with some nervousness by the Tory faithful. JAMES NAUGHTIE reports

Feathers ruffle as hawk flies over the cuckoo's nest

THE STRANGE thing about Mrs Thatcher's speech to the Conservative Central Council at Newcastle was not that she responded to her economic critics with a fundamentalist sermon, but that there appeared to be as much nervousness as ecstasy in its reception by the faithful.

There was, naturally, a standing ovation, but it was the fervour of some of those long-remembered from earlier times, an odd contrast with the Prime Minister's own mood on Saturday, which, though her delivery was assured than usual, was uncompromising and determined.

The Bishop of Durham was the first cuckoo of spring. Oxford common rooms were as bad as the cloisters for their infestation of doubters. All the old demons were summoned to dance for the party. The tone throughout had the familiar certainty the party has come to recognise as the trademark of Thatcherism: economic and social order, like the world, can be painted in the plainest shades of black and white, good and bad.

So striking features found themselves bundled together in the law and order section

of the speech with football hooligans, and the concepts of "collective rights" and "social justice" were contrasted scornfully with individual rights and the individual conscience. And everything was set against a background of coming deregulation and privatisation, the enterprise culture.

The Prime Minister was not defending, but on the attack.

It was difficult to listen without hearing the echo of Francis Pym, who told the Commons last week that the Government's economic attitudes reminded him of 1966. And all that, a simple tale of good things and bad things. Inflation was bad, tax cuts good. Borrowing was bad, the control of money supply good. No complications are allowed to disturb the picture.

Of the six tasks she set for the Government in the central part of the speech, Mrs Thatcher emphasised reform of wages councils and the employment protection

Acts, the coming review of social security and acceleration of privatisation (partly as a means of reviving city centres by selling off derelict public property).

The commitment to increased programmes for education and training was the one task in which it was acknowledged that investment could help unemployment.

The dominant theme, however, was resolute resistance to the argument for public investment as a palliative for the jobless. The question is whether the central council — a strangely loose association of party activists — was sufficiently excited by the re-statement of Thatcherite orthodoxy to put aside the

doubts that were evident in some of the debates in the two-day meeting.

It was not raging dissent. The voices raised in opposition were outnumbered by the loyalists' cries of congratulation for Mr Nigel Lawson (who nonetheless responded with a somewhat than a straight-forward attack on the Government, a warning of trouble ahead rather than a threat of revolt).

To this — and to the wets who caused trouble last week and plan to do so again this week — the response was characteristic. The critics were denying the possibil-

ities in the spirit of enterprise — ambition, the urge to make money, and the greatest good, the creation of wealth itself — which was described as "most fundamental of the social services."

In a defence of self-help, of which Samuel Smiles himself would have been proud, Mrs Thatcher told the party that the talents to the Bishop of Durham, putting her own stamp upon it. The essence of those who had won approval by using their talents was the willingness to take risks to make a gain.

It was reminiscent of her famous re-writing of the parable of the Good Samaritan,

in which she said, memorably, that the only reason the good Samaritan was remembered was because he had the cash which allowed him to help.

So, the worries of Tories asking for a change of course to tackle unemployment or just to stop growing unpopularity for the party were answered with all the simplicity and self-righteousness of the preacher who has long since put all doubts aside. The wets who watched the speech with a lingering hope that there would be some sign of reconciliation were disappointed. If anything, the message, as ever, was clear. If they want changes they are going to have to fight for them.

In an exclusive interview, Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury talks to MARTYN HALSALL

A flak catcher on the frontier of spirituality

ROBERT RUNCIE says he likes a quiet life. Immediately after the Second World War, he toured the Balkans, helping to sort out the thought of becoming a diplomat. "I like to travel and I like people and I like history, but God had other plans for me," he says. Five years ago today he was enthroned as the eighth and second Archbishop of Canterbury. A theologically discernable proportion of his flock has broken around him since.

His herculean reputation for drawing fire as a tank commander during the Normandy campaign seems to have followed him into the leadership of the Church of England. Church and state are said to be loggers. The International Anglican Communion is reportedly rent over the ordination of women. Anglican doctrine is allegedly hijacked by heretics. Dr Runcie says he would like to be remembered, partly, as someone who didn't lose his nerve when the Church was going through rough times. Many would say he had little option.

His reputation is divided. His loyal biographer considers him potentially a great archbishop. The most ardent journalist has likened him to an eccentric, maddening saint. After the black and white evangelism of Dr Donald Coggan, Dr Runcie offers a mobile, technicolour Christianity. His views change; he likes to assess evidence. To the practical disciples of spiritual security he can seem both vague and dangerous. His study in Lambeth Palace is dotted with photographs of his family and ecclesiastical friends. The tables are stacked with books. Scripture is piled alongside Solent. Dr Runcie is keen on accurate research. He has appointed a commission to examine the problems of the inner-city. A theologian he is used to teasing out subtleties. As a teacher he is alarmed when colleagues exhibit inadequate homework.

Despite the riots in recent headlines, Dr Runcie sees the church in "critical solidarity" with Government, supporting politicians in their complicated management of power. "That's not to say the Church can provide a sacred ground to over-arch the social policies of the Government. I think we've had to probe some of the wounds of our society at the present time and particularly those which seem to harm whole groups of people."

Polarisation has increased in the last five years between the wealth creators and the casualties of some immediate policies. He feels the gap is too wide. But there has to be realistic hard talking and there has to be tough action to get the economy right and bishops who talk without the necessary expertise of bringing inflation under control make themselves ridiculous. If that's what 'Keep religion out of politics' means, I would support it."

He enjoys and uses political contact. I certainly wouldn't complain that I have no opportunity to speak with

politicians, nor is there a sense in which I regard it as too dangerous or too irresponsible to discuss these matters." He sees Mrs Thatcher from time to time. "It's a good and easy relationship in terms of all the business we have to do together."

For the leader of a Church dubbed the unofficial Opposition, Dr Runcie prefers political detachment. "This idea that I'm playing the politician's game is a bit of a joke. I'm not a very political animal. In fact I find a great deal of the details of politics extremely boring. I think also that from my past record that I enjoy a quiet life and have the greatest delight in discussions with my friends and enjoy cultural evenings and so on, and therefore it is a discomfort that I've entered into this question, the problems of the inner-city."

Such comments are based on scriptural rather than political authority. He quotes chapters and verses from both testaments to demonstrate God's concern for the underprivileged. He declares himself a disciple of God's "bias to the poor." He notes the "catastrophic change of character" in Liverpool, where he grew up and on Tyne, where he was a curate. "Messages that I get from the inner-city ring alarm bells, so I go to see them." Speeches are drafted from experience: "So what I say springs not from political partisanship but from religious conviction and pastoral knowledge."

Dr Runcie is looking to the next Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops in 1988 for an authoritative response to a number of issues, not least relations with the Roman Catholic Church. He says that women's ordination remains a major obstacle to progress with the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Personally he has moved towards a more open acceptance of women's ministry. He accepts women ordained abroad as priests, although in some churches they are still kept out of his way. "In countries where they do ordain women, I've seen that it hasn't created the kind of schism which people have prophesied that it would. Of course it's made for divisions. It hasn't been achieved without pain, but some of the more alarmist prophecies have not come about."

The he says "We haven't talked about Jenkins yet."

The "Durham affair" surprised him. He had thought of Bishop Jenkins as a stimulating and encouraging teacher on the divinity of Christ. "He seemed to me much more orthodox than some of the dangerous characters who are writing books and saying the place is a bit of a shock to me when he went full pelt into the media as an 'episcopal heretic'... but then there is a realisation at the present time in theological circles and the Church is caught in the fashion of the times."

The General Synod debate about Christian beliefs and the Bishop of Durham's interpretations — has still to be considered by the House of Bishops. "I hope that we shall not

set up or be tempted to set up new bodies, new sorts of doctrinal tests, which would be against the traditions of the Church of England. But I think that we should look at the nature of our subscriptions to belief at all levels, for those baptised, those to be made bishops, and particularly the responsibilities of bishops as guardians and interpreters of the faith, and face the difficult question of the permissible limits of interpretation."

The Archbishop awards Bishop Jenkins both praise and criticism. He admires the "courage" of the initial television interview "about the adventure of faith" but in doing so he's offended and upset a number of people who are concerned about the defence of the faith and therefore, I think, some of the language and presentation, which is understandable on the media is not of the sort that I would encourage or use myself.

"Similarly on the political questions, he wants to preach a Church which is genuine and Christian to the core and therefore standing by the poor and giving voice to the voiceless. There were those who saw complicated issues being dangerously trivialised. 'In the interests of affirming some groups of people, others were written off. And so in the short term, I think damage has been done, but in the long term the aims of David Jenkins about faith and witness need to be stirring up the Church."

"He will provoke us in the House of Bishops and we shall not always agree with him by any manner of means, but despite my criticism and despite my sensitivity about these issues, we need to be reassured, I believe we need a Bishop Jenkins to stir us up."

Dr Runcie labels himself an inclusivist. He aims "to bring the Christian faith in all its richness into the lives of people who think the Church is miles away." One of the most depressing experiences of his first five years was during a university mission. He sensed a lot of "backers" in his audience but questions were dominated by "keen Christians who wanted to see whether I was sound or not." He said people should be strong enough in their faith to take the risk of being where the seekers are and where the needy are... that's why I'll always be dangerously on the frontier of my spirituality."

"I would like Christian people to communicate to others what a blessing it is, what a gift it is to be a believer. There are some who seem to talk or act as if belief were a great burden and that nobody should get away without bearing a full load. That way lies self-righteousness. I don't want a self-righteous Church. But there are many people who tend to be despondent and there's no room for despondency in the blessings of Christian belief, so I would want to bring confidence to wavering Christians. And with that, the most nominal disciple of the early life convened a meeting to weed out an over-crowded diary."

John Malcomess, one of the MPs who made the call for the inquiry, read out three of the affidavits in parliament, which enabled them to be published without contravening the wide-ranging restrictions on reports about police activities in South Africa. They provide an indictment of police tactics in the Eastern Cape. Last weekend, members of the Black Sash women's civil rights body, said they had seen a man assaulting a youth shackled to a table in a police station in Uitenhage. The black detective constables were suspended.



The man who kept his nerve: Archbishop Runcie.

Picture by Kenneth Saunders

WALTER SCHWARZ on some hard lessons for British Greens

Margin of error

"THERE'S nothing wrong with nothing, especially if a man is doing it. But there's a lot more to ecology than that." Mr Jeremy Paul from Cornwall, the only Ecology Party councillor in Britain, was saying this to the international Green conference in Dover yesterday. British Greens do knit at meetings, as do German ones. In both countries they don't wear ties and they bring their children along. Sometimes sit on Daddy's lap as he makes his speech, commenting on it quite loudly. This is a good symbol of the relaxed, anti-macho world of Greens. The children are less disruptive than pompous irrelevances suffered at the conferences of other parties.

Paul's complaint was that British Greens are marginal, wrongly called environmentalists by newspapers who don't understand that their concern is much wider — with man as a whole. German Greens are not marginal, with 27 members of the Bundestag and more in state and local assemblies. The French Verts will come out of obscurity, too, if Mitterrand brings in proportional representation next week, as he is expected to do.

If they win 6 per cent in next year's general election, as the opinion polls suggest, they will have 23 deputies. So what's wrong in Britain? The party cannot blame it all on the electoral system, as it has got nowhere near the 5 per cent proportional hurdle. Yet their ideas are as relevant as any others to things that worry people: jobs, health, peace, quality of life, position of women, third world, freedom.

Were I a member, and allowed to speak, I would say this marginality is our own fault: we have not begun to seize our opportunities. A member from Glasgow, William Rowe, spoke with enthusiasm of employment initiatives to derelict city areas — projects that escape from protests over factory closures to social and cultural initiatives, and finally to job creation. These initiatives have sprung up in nearly every major city and many a village. But the Greens (who still ponderously call themselves the Ecology Party) are not usually present.

Work in inner cities would turn the Greens' image inside out. Instead of being against a long list of things, they would be for jobs. Instead of being the party of middle class dreamers they would be at the heart of the workers' struggle. Instead of being seen as rural retrogrades they would be urban renewers.

They talk too much like other parties to Jonathan Porritt, the chairman, conveyed greetings from miners and as if he were chairman of the Labour Party, declared support "for their struggle which is no yet over." He did not say if the ecological society of the future would finance unemployment pits or if it really favoured hereditary jobs underground. What he should have said was: "Long live miners' communities that produce what people can eat and use." If the Greens had been seen at picket lines, saying that for the past year, nobody would have called them environmentalists or mentioned their knitting.

ain stopped listening to the ad-men and the politician-longer. Austerity is not terrifying for those who have experienced it for years.

Redistribution may be unpopular because it is associated with Socialism, Marxism, statism, gigantism, waste of natural resources and public money. Greens could bring it back into fashion. Mr Fritz Capra, the physicist who wrote about the philosophical basis of green politics, suggested the party might appeal to the "post-Marxist radical left." He might have added: the post-Thatcher radical right.

There was some talk of future coalitions for the Greens — a problem already faced by the German Greens but a bit premature in Britain. Yet there is enormous scope for alliances with pressure groups here and now. For a start the victims of the health service, and of British Rail, Greens stand out from other parties in their insistence that most movement of people and goods is unnecessary and inimical to the good life. And that most illness is society-induced and many of our remedies sick-making.

They should be in the forefront of concern for the Third World because they have the best answer: the economic decolonisation of our regions and their, making both self-sufficient in essentials instead of slaves to the production and trading of goods that range from the irrelevant to the noxious. They should be in the forefront of the argument about EEC agriculture. Their natural enemy is the giant farm-factory that drives out real farming and real food and creates the surplus.

They should be in the forefront of the women's movement because their revolt is against essentially masculine thinking that begins by dominating nature and ends by dominating people. Their most important immediate friends are in the peace movement — as the German Green movement has shown: Mary Kaldor, who belongs to the Labour Party, came to the Greens conference to make the point. She said CND has grown because of "frustration with traditional politics" which produces the sort of society that can make nuclear missiles.

She said this was now coming to a head in Star Wars, which will need 250 space shuttles merely to refuel the space-based segment of the SDI system. "What will happen to the world then?" Kaldor asked, "even if not a single nuclear weapon is ever fired?"

Petra Kelly of the German Greens, also on the platform, said all this as men's doing — a profound relationship between nuclear weapons and male-dominated society. With that schoolgirl humour she tries in vain to control, she points down to "missile envy."

Petra Kelly used to belong to the Social Democrats. Like many thousands of others, she came across. If Mary Kaldor ever goes the same way, taking half of CND with her, the British Greens will have finally emerged from irrelevance.



Jonathan Porritt, above, and, below Petra Kelly



Despair at the Cape of no hope

BARRY STREEK reports from South Africa's troubled province

THE Eastern Cape province of South Africa, where at least 19 people were killed by police last week and seven more died at the weekend, has long been one of the country's most politically active areas. It was in this region, home of the six million Xhosa people that whites and blacks first clashed towards the end of the 19th century. More recently, it has produced many of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress were both educated there, and Steve Biko, founder of the black consciousness movement, lived there before his death in detention.

A number of former Robben Island political prisoners were confined by banning orders to several of the area's townships after their release, as a matter of deliberate government policy, adding to the volatile atmosphere. The province's four "independent" African homelands — Ciskei and Transkei —

has created more tension among the black community, as independence has stripped Xhosa-speaking Africans of their South African citizenship. Economically, the Eastern Cape is depressed. Physically, much is arid and recent droughts have worsened conditions for the hundreds of thousands scratching a living from the land. Nearly five years ago, the South African government was given an intelligence report warning that conditions in the "black townships" in the Eastern Cape were so bad that they were leading to violence, strikes and disruptions.

Dr George Morrison, then deputy Minister of cooperation who disclosed the existence of the report said in 1981: "We were told that much of the violence, strikes and disruption were due to inadequate housing and inadequate facilities in the various black townships of the Eastern Cape."

"We were somewhat perturbed by the fact that according to the reports we had conditions in some of the 'black townships' which were appalling." The government immediately appointed an inter-departmental committee which came to the conclusion that at least £250 million would have to be spent in the words of Dr Morrison, "to normalise the whole situation."

After this, Dr Louis Rie, the former Postmaster-General who was responsible for drawing up a plan to upgrade Soweto in Johannesburg after the 1976 disturbances, was appointed as a trouble-shooter to draft a plan to improve conditions in the Eastern Cape. Last year, nearly four years after the intelligence warning, the government approved the raising of more than £150 million in the Eastern Cape, including foreign loans, for the redevelopment of the townships.

But, as the Rie plan was being implemented, the first disturbances began at Cradock, a town named after a British governor of the Cape. Since then, the government dismissed a teacher who led protests against a recent increase in the Lingshele township there. Since then, protests, disruptions, boycotts and clashes with the authorities have taken place in most of the 75 townships in the region, which consists of the land outside the two "independent" homelands of the Ciskei and Transkei.

Last weekend, three-day black stayaway in Port Elizabeth resulted in the death of 15 people in different townships in the region. Shortly before the killings at Langa near Uitenhage, where 19 people died when police opened fire on a funeral march, three Eastern Cape MPs from the Progressive Federal Party, the official opposition, called for a commission of inquiry into unrest and violence in the area "as a matter of extreme urgency."

They said they were "greatly disturbed by the growing number of deaths, many of which appear to have been direct or indirect consequence of police action in these townships."

The role of the police in the building of tensions in the Eastern Cape is still under investigation, after the Progressive Federal Party collected affidavits from black people in a number of different black residential areas — Cradock, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred and Grahamstown.

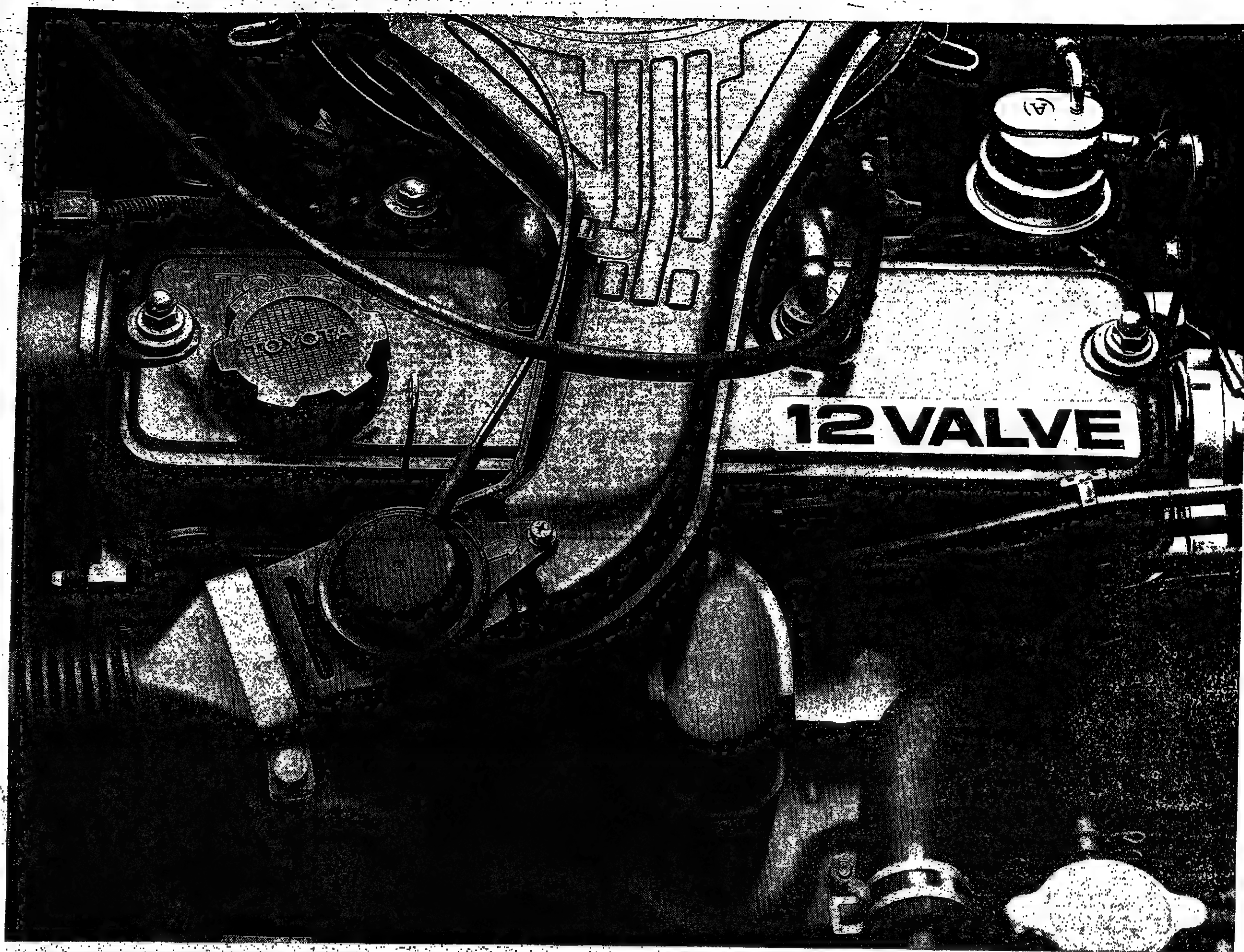
John Malcomess, one of the MPs who made the call for the inquiry, read out three of the affidavits in parliament, which enabled them to be published without contravening the wide-ranging restrictions on reports about police activities in South Africa. They provide an indictment of police tactics in the Eastern Cape. Last weekend, members of the Black Sash women's civil rights body, said they had seen a man assaulting a youth shackled to a table in a police station in Uitenhage. The black detective constables were suspended.

As Errol Moorcraft, another of the three opposition MPs put it, "certain elements of the police conduct themselves in a manner which is both brutal and sadistic. The evidence suggests that the actions are more in the nature of punitive measures rather than keeping the peace."



Jonathan Porritt, above, and, below Petra Kelly





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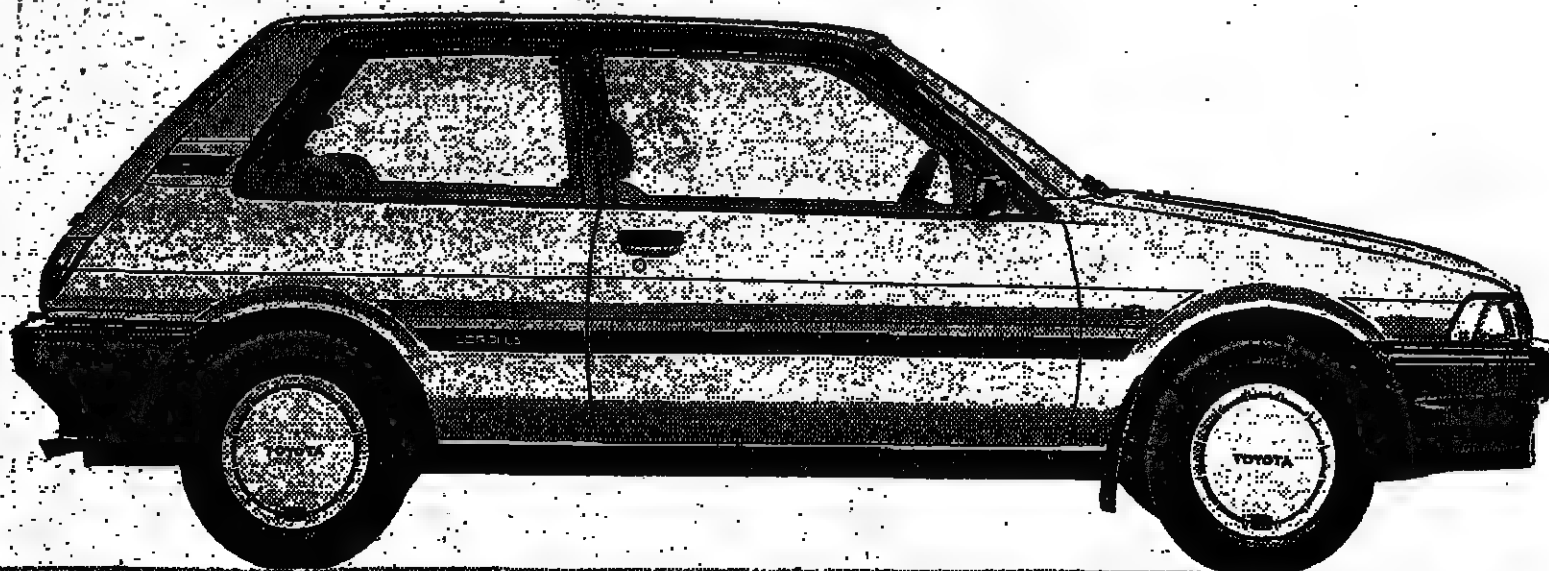
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Margareta Pagano looks at the personality and work of George Davies, the chief executive of J. Hepworth, and the Guardian Young Businessman of 1985

The Next question is about finance, flair and fashion



George Davies: selling a style of life

GEORGE DAVIES is the High Street's latest superstar. In just three years his brilliant Next creations for men and women have taken the retail and fashion cognoscenti by storm.

He has designed the Next shops to seduce the senses. The image is subliminal. The shops have become honey-pots on the high street full of sexy colours, fun, vitality... and attractive young people. People want to look good. Davies has given them the chance to do so at a reasonable price in a welcoming ambience: two to three good high fashion suits a year instead of one expensive one or four shoddy ones. They are shops for the Y&Fs, the Yupies, the Hooray Henrys and the Sloane Rangers, down and across the social classes. His next step is into the Next person's home.

If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery then the string of Next-look-alikes springing like mushrooms around the country is homage to Davies. US retail gurus and tourists are said to make the South Molton Street shop their first port of call while the Japanese are clamouring to franchise the shops.

Davies, who is 42, accepts the star label with just enough embarrassment. He has grown used to being the flavour of the month, but admits that Next's success has been beyond his wildest

dreams. Still, his ambitions do not stop here.

He is also a touch shell-shocked. With engaging honesty the surprise was not so much that he has been chosen as an outstanding retailer, but that a retailer had been chosen at all. This says much for the way the trade has been treated with some disdain by the industrial establishment. It also reveals Davies' charming ability to combine modesty with ruthless, bulldozed conviction. He has a gut feel for what works in the shops.

He is relaxed yet ebullient, a comfortable manner owing much perhaps to early years as an ace salesman for Pippa Dee, selling women's clothes, at suburban coffee mornings.

For him the phenomenal growth of the 300 Next shops lies in the way three essential ingredients have been brought together: financial skills, the selling instinct and excellent product innovation. He describes it as a "carefully planned exercise in marketing and merchandising stemming from intuition and experience."

"The selling and product are gut, but the financial came a little harder. Now that I have learnt the jargon I can of course afford not to use it." The special quality about Davies is that he has used his flair and skills to make him an architect of a new type of retailing: he is

selling a style of life, not just a range of clothes.

To Davies, Next is a large family. "I never forget that I don't own the business. I am one of the workers. My back-ground keeps me on my toes. Whatever is good for the shareholders is good for the staff," he says.

The greatest kick for him has been that growth has allowed Next to take on over 1,000 new and young staff. Nearly all his shop managers are in their early twenties. Davies has also set up three staff councils covering retail, office and management workers which are used as forums for dialogue, complaints, or whatever. He is in the middle of organising a unique agreement with USDAW, the main retail union, since Next has no union representation. He particularly admires the John Lewis partnership for its workers' structure, but is more likely to vote SDP than Labour.

He likes money but does not flaunt it. He earns £20,000 a year with profit related bonuses as chief executive of Hepworth, the Next master group, but says the thrill is seeing the business grow for everyone. The former Hepworth boss drove a £45,000 Bristol but Davies chose not to keep it on. He sees no tradition between his political leanings and his role in the business world. Davies based his strategy

on a glaring gap in the 25 to 40-year-old women's fashion market who he believed wanted classic styled but fashionable clothes at the right price. And, crucially, the "right aspirational image."

At the top end he saw Jaeger and Pringle, exclusive European labels. At the bottom a mass of rather shoddy, badly made high fashion tags.

From outside, Next's secret appears to rely on a rather simplistic, conceptual formula of selling disciplined range of coordinated clothes with the right range of toning accessories from bags to shoes. He provided clothes for women, as Davies perceived, who actually found shopping around to match up an outfit rather a bore. He gave them open plan but intimate shops in suburban decor with lots of fitting rooms. Staff never pounce nor ignore.

His small design team, importantly working from Leicester head office and not London, bring out five high season collections with a short life span. As soon as a new season is welcomed in the old is ushered out. Clothes are sold off via a handful of "sales" shops in 1981, when fortunes were although backwaters can be tracked down to central office.

All these basic principles have been applied to Next.

Man, so far they are working remarkably. He has proved that Next was not a flash in the pan. In August last year 18 Next shops opened and today there are 100. Where possible Next women and men are put together in the old Hepworth stores which are slowly being closed down. Davies is only too aware that 70 per cent of the women influence the clothes their male partners/husbands buy. Women actually buy about 30 per cent of all menswear. As he put it, "In every Next woman there is a Next husband or son."

Several mini-stores including florists and cafes have, and are, being opened. Next accessories, particularly shoes, are growing fast. In September Next opens a chain of 35 soft furnishings shops for home decor. Future plans, which should take Next into the difficult US market, are tightly kept under wraps. But Davies threatens that if Next goes across the Atlantic it will do it properly. He believes the secret in the US shopper is getting the right people who know the US market inside and out.

For the moment the City is in love with Davies. You can see why. He joined Hepworth in 1981, when fortunes were flagging. He was given the task of drawing up a brief for its chain of fuddy duddy Kendall's women's shops. He was

given two months and possible £1,000 compensation if they didn't like it.

"I had just resigned from Pippa Dee — the Rosgill group — and had nothing to lose. I could stick dogmatically to my own ideas which I had had for some time," he says. Next has emerged very close to his original idea.

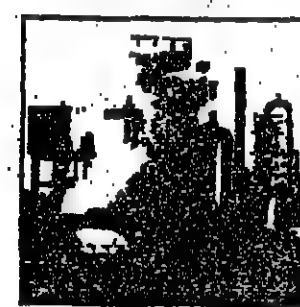
In 1982 Hepworth's profit slumped to £3.9 million after a peak of £13.6 million in 1978. Last August profit soared by 59 per cent to £13.6 million. Next women contributed all the rise in retail profit. Pundits are going for as much as £20 million this year.

Davies is now under the spotlight of both the City and rivals like the Burton group. Marks and Spencer and other retailers, who are eagerly waiting for him to trip up. But he will waste no time looking over his shoulder. For him the challenge will be in Next, in 10 years time, with say 30,000 employees can hold on to the same family spirit and informal style.

"Every now and again when I drive around I look up at Harrods, at Debenhams or whatever and wonder what I have taken on," he says with a chuckle. "But I am convinced people want good stylish places. But you've got to be sincere about what you do and know your market."

Complaints are growing about the elections to find Moss Evans's successor. John Torode argues that the TGWU is not corrupt. But its secretive, ramshackle structures are no longer adequate.

Opening up the branch lines



WORKING BRIEF

John Torode

OFFICIALS of the ramshackle Transport and General Workers' Union are looking into growing allegations of what are discreetly called "irregularities" in last year's branch ballots for Moss Evans's job.

So, in at least one case, is the fraud squad. The complaints already cover events in two branches in Bristol, one in London and one in Liverpool.

It is a sorry prelude to the final departure of Mr Evans and his replacement by Ron Todd. The more so because Evans and Todd have built their reputations upon the need to conduct the union in the most open, participatory and democratic manner possible.

Earlier this month, Evans told the Sunday Times that the union had some 9,000 branches and 1.5 million people eligible to vote. He stated "positively and unequivocally" that the union had received only three "specific" complaints. He appealed to the public to send him any other evidence about the conduct of the vote, adding that the union had nothing to hide.

Specific complaints may be limited, but rumours abound. One is that if you add the number of votes cast to the number of unused ballot papers you come up with almost 100,000 more ballot papers printed than were necessary for the entire eligible membership. Then it is suggested that some branches registered quite astonishingly high turnouts. Why, ask the critics, all these extra voting papers? And were they floating free as air around assorted branch offices during the crucial ballots?

Things are made worse by the bureaucratic refusal of the union to tell its members — far less the capitalist press — which branches were disqualified, which members are cutting up rough, and why. Suspicion breeds in a hothouse atmosphere of secrecy. And secrecy is incompatible with the Cousins. Jones, Evans, Todd commitment to open government.

What went wrong? Well, some time back, during the elections for the Labour leadership under the new electoral college (which allows unions a 40 per cent in the outcome) Moss Evans gave a clue. He was asked why his union had not directly consulted its members by secret postal ballot before casting its massive block vote in their collective name.

Mr Evans's reply was two-fold: the cost would be prohibitive and, anyway, the union did not know who was eligible to vote. All of which rightly infuriated a lot of his members. They saw it as indicating a pretty casual approach both to democratic norms and to the management of one of the largest unions in the free world. It was taken by many commentators as both evasive and arrogant.

Not so, Mr Evans has an en-

dearing tendency to blurt out what he believes in — even when it does him precious little good. He is a straight up-and-down sort of bloke.

But to revert to Evans's question of cost: nobody has ever claimed that democracy is the cheapest system of government known to man. It is generally regarded as being a good idea on moral grounds or, more pragmatically, because it is a convenient way of legitimising controversial choices and holding mighty powers together. Ask the NUM leaders who ducked a ballot at the start of their strike and split the union.

Postal ballots are expensive. But certainly not prohibitively so to a well-run union. The AUEW and the EETPU have been using them for years — and fooling the bill. Now they are flirting with accepting even more financing available under the Conservatives' assented Employment Acts. Other unions

my own, the National Union of Journalists, among them — conduct a positive flood of postal ballots each year. On principle, they refuse government funding.

So it is perfectly possible for unions, great or small, to carry the burden of postal ballots if they choose. The TGWU does not choose. The other difficulty — eligibility (indeed, membership) is more genuinely problematic to the TGWU. In a political ballot things are at their most difficult. The union has first to identify its members and then pick out those who pay the political levy and so are eligible to take part in the voting.

The one-off vote which gave Ron Todd his job for life should not have been that difficult. All the union had to do was to determine whether you were a member in good standing and had been so for three months. The vote was entitled to cast your vote, if you cared to turn up at the right branch meeting. To the union's credit, that vote, once cast, was registered individually.

Things go wrong in the TGWU in good part, because the union is a ramshackle empire, made more so by the merger mania of the past two decades. The union's trade groups sprawl across the whole of British industry. Tacked on to them are all sorts of more or less autonomous units made up from earlier independent unions. Each has its own practices and its own terms and conditions of merger.

Beyond that is the nature of much of the TGWU membership. At the unskilled, casual, part-time end of the scale, people slip in and out of the union also as casually as they once slipped in and out of jobs. There is not the clear continuity of membership you find among printers, miners or skilled engineering workers. Now check-off is common, there must be many TGWU members who do not know they are in a union, far less which one. Lack of information is a two-way street.

Ron Todd was elected on a platform which said that, policywise, everything in his union's policy garden was lovely. The trouble was the appalling lack of communication. He intended to modernise, computerise and communicate away like mad.

Now is his chance. There is no great national conspiracy. There is arrogance, incompetence and an outdated electoral system which places impossible burdens upon the branches. It is all compounded by obsessive secrecy Todd could profitably look both at what went wrong, and, more importantly, why. And then he should tell his members how the system can be improved.

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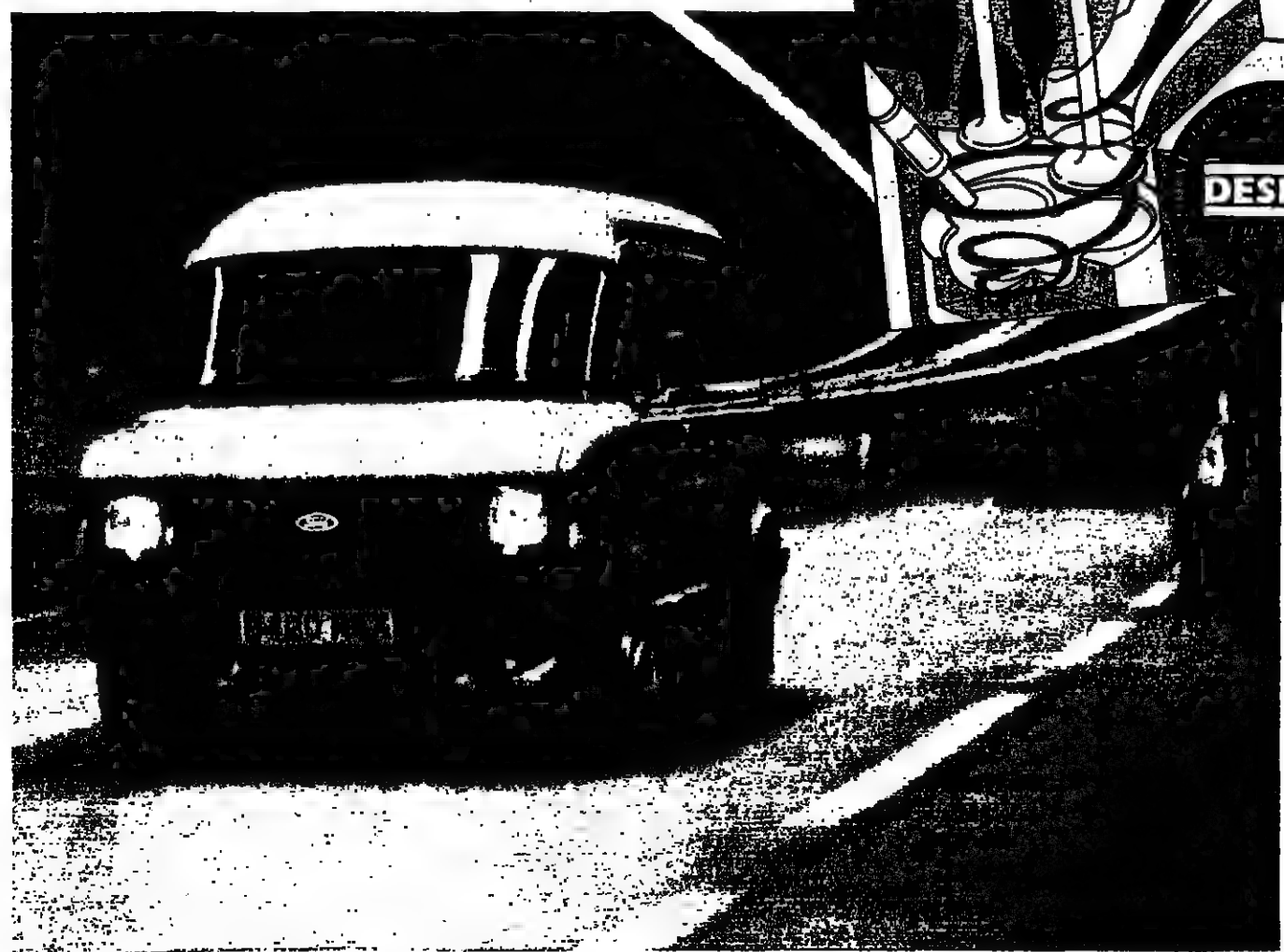
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Now the dollar has lost its virility, the US is gaining interest in intervention



AMERICAN NOTEBOOK

Alex Brummer

OF ITSELF the Ohio banking crisis, as it has been grandiloquently described, is likely to be seen as a small blip in the long-range scan of financial history. But small blips can often cause huge waves as devotees to the Credit Anstalt theory of the Great Depression would testify.

The Ohio debacle is clearly important for at least two reasons. First, it took an apparent (but not real) threat to the banking system to stem the seemingly inexorable rise of the dollar which has been going on since Mr Paul Volcker arrived at the Federal Reserve.

Second, after more than two years of robust recovery in the American economy, the collapse of ESM Securities in Florida and its impact on the Ohio savings and loans may be part of the shake-out which nearly always occurs at the boom phase of the trade cycle grinds to a halt. Such changes in pace for the economy tend to show the fringes of the financial system, as, for instance, the fringe banking crisis in Britain in the early 1970s demonstrated.

The Ohio affair, like the fringe banking crisis in Britain, is indicative of some serious weakness which have accumulated in the US financial system during the boom. While it is clearly insignificant in global terms — the \$4 billion of

deposits at stake is only a fraction of the \$35 billion involved in the Continental Illinois failure last year — it does touch on some fundamental changes in the financial system in the go-go years.

The ballooning of the government securities markets as President Reagan has glibly run up the national debt has produced a new, large and unregulated industry of government securities dealers who are at the heart of the financial system but without the usual watchful eye of the Federal Reserve or the Securities and Exchange Commission. There was a smell of this before when the collapse of Drysdale Government Securities, sandwiched between a bank and Chase Manhattan.

This time round when ESM Government Securities, another fringe operator in this mobilisation dollar market, fell apart it was the inexperienced Ohio savings and loans which suffered. The story of how ESM became involved with the Home State Savings Bank of Cin-

cinnati (the core institution in the affair) is more to do with political friendships and weak auditing than anything else. But the conditions which made it possible are largely the result of what many economists believe is an irresponsible fiscal stance.

It will without doubt not be too difficult to close the holes in the leaky regulatory umbrella created by the ESM/Ohio mess. Indeed, there are already healthy signs of progress on this front.

The SEC is focusing closely on the securities dealers although the view on the market is that the tighter tiller of the Federal Reserve, with its fundamental understanding of the government debt markets and their stability, may be a better master. The Federal Reserve, for its part, is somewhat reluctant to set up a formal reporting system for the 30 or so bona fide brokers because of concern that to do so may be seen as granting them some kind of approval.

Similarly, efforts to switch

the savings and loans in Ohio from the clearly insufficient state and private insurance system to the better funded and more rigorous federal umbrella are clearly an anachronism in an age of increasingly national financial services. Indeed, there are signs that some four or so other states with similar systems to Ohio will also seek federal shelter.

No doubt some of the Ohio savings and loans will never again open their doors because of insufficient care to their balance sheets. But a few minor savings collapses in Ohio, with the Federal Reserve standing ready to help, hardly represents the challenge to the American financial system which the foreign exchanges worried about last week.

The currency markets are clearly right to be worried about the instabilities of the US economy. The real question here perhaps is what took them so long, if Ohio truly proves to be the watershed for the dollar's value

then it could serve a purpose. Indeed, cynics might argue that the tardiness with which the federal authorities came to the help of Governor Richard Celeste of Ohio, during the saving and loan debacle, was a subliminal attempt to bully the markets into a reverse.

Certainly, it has changed the talk in Washington from the virility of a superdollar which is set on a course ever onwards and upwards to discussion here and in Europe of that old favourite, the "soft landing". Most experts agree that at current levels the dollar is some 40 to 50 per cent overvalued against the major European currencies and perhaps 25 per cent against the Japanese yen. The trick is to try to restore some balance in the currency markets without dragging the world economy into a horrendous downward spiral.

All kinds of ideas are surfacing. They range from the relatively extreme forms of internationalism (in its broadest sense) represented by the concept of an International Open Markets Commit-

tee to the milder ideas of a look at remodelling the international currency system coming from the US Treasury Secretary, Mr James Baker, who has, until now, shown little inclination to get to grips with the most serious international economic problem facing the administration.

As well as marking a watershed in the foreign exchanges, Ohio may well mark the turning point for the real economy too. Of course the two events are interrelated. As has been evident for some time it is not possible for a country to go on sucking in ever greater volumes of imports without seriously undermining the nation's industrial and agricultural base.

The "flash" forecast of first-quarter gross national product showed the chickens coming home to roost. While this particular statistic is regarded by many economists as notoriously unreliable (because of frequent revisions in later months) it does have the merit of providing a sense of direction.

It certainly cannot be discounted. A whole slew of other data in recent days has pointed in the same direction of a slowing domestic economy. The view of both government and business is that the slowdown this time is not the result of Mr Volcker's efforts — far from it, he has been keeping the money flowing — but has split over from the external account. Industry and consumers are simply buying abroad because the dollar at current levels makes every other industrial economy (not to mention the developing countries) look like a bargain basement in comparison with Made in America.

There is a certain irony in the spillover from the international arena to the domestic economy. To all intents and purposes the American media and public, living in their continental self-absorption, regard the dollar and trade deficits as something foreigners worry about and they can ignore. The confluence of Ohio, international debt and a sluggish economy is finally bringing the problem home.

Family entitled to privacy, says Harrods chief

Al-Fayed secrecy defended

By Tony May

Professor Roland Smith yesterday defended the right of the Al-Fayed family, whose \$615 million offer for the House of Fraser Stores group he, as chairman, has recommended, to keep their business affairs private. He also gave an insight into how the business will run in future.

Asked why the formal offer document from the Al-Fayed Investment and Trust, U.K., did not contain much new information, the Liechtenstein-based holding company through which the family is operating, he said that it was "a private company because

the family wished to keep its affairs private."

He repeated that the Fraser Group's City advisers were satisfied that the Al-Fayed had the cash to buy the business — they already have over half the shares — and he was pleased with the assurances they had given on the future of the group and its employees.

He said that the "management" would be the same as that of the group needed additional finance the Al-Fayed had indicated they could make it available. The group would not have to turn to the City.

The document confirms that Harrods is regarded as "an

integral part of the group" and the present group structure will be maintained.

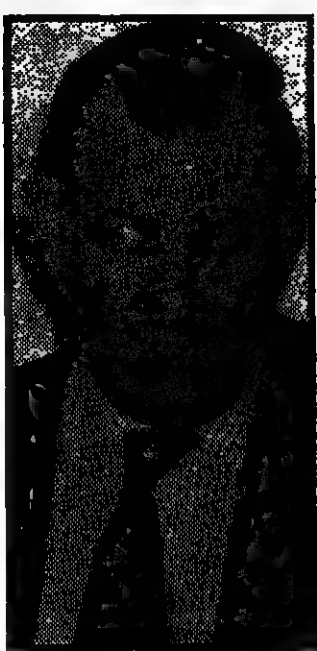
On a personal note Prof. Smith said that the doubling of his salary to £100,000 was merely approved by the Al-Fayed and had been in the pipeline before their bid. Considering how busy the group has kept him over the past five years, it is amusing to note that his 1980 contract obliges him to work "not less than two-and-a-half days per week."

The offer document shows that the group hoisted its profits from £38.7 million to £48 million in the year to January

25, which helps to explain Prof. Smith's bonus of £30,000 for that year.

Shareholders are told that the Al-Fayed family is an "old established Egyptian family with interests in three continents. The holding company is wholly owned by the brothers Mohamed, Salah and Ali Al-Fayed, has 10 shares of £100,000 each owned by them and its "only significant assets consist of interest-free loans from the brothers and bank borrowings."

Professor Roland Smith — salary doubled to £100,000



NEWS IN BRIEF

Cheaper loans

LLOYDS Bank is offering a discount to new home loan borrowers. The half per cent discount will apply to all new repayment and endowment loans agreed between now and June 28. The reduction will be maintained on the prevailing Lloyds Bank home loan rate until June 30 next year.

On the current repayment rate of 13.25 per cent, customers with a £30,000 mortgage will save £11.40 gross, £7.41 net, on their initial monthly repayment.

WARDAIR, the Canadian charter airline, has cancelled flights to Liverpool and abandoned plans for a service to Leeds/Bradford. The company blamed a slump in traffic to North America as a result of the poor exchange rate for Britain, the effects of the miners' strike on people's spending power on Merseyside and in Yorkshire, and a lack of support for inbound services to these airports from the Canadian public.

NORWAY'S Oil Minister, Mr Kåre Kristiansen, said in Qatar that he felt oil prices would weaken soon, although he added that they would recover later.

Latin America starts to revive but living standards stagnate

By Peter Rodgers

The profound recession in Latin America appears to have turned round, the Inter-American Development Bank says in its annual report, which starts today in Vienna.

But in spite of the signs of recovery, the recession continues to have severe repercussions. Though the region's gross domestic product rose 2 per cent last year, living standards have not begun to rise.

At the end of 1984 the Latin American economy was almost exactly the same size as in 1980 but in the intervening four years the labour force had risen by at least 15 million and the population by more than 33 million. The economic recovery last year was only enough to stop the decline in living standards per head of population, which had suffered severely when GDP

fell 3.3 per cent in 1982 and 5.3 per cent in 1984 during the height of the austerity measures brought about by the international debt crisis.

The report says that "Latin America showed its resiliency by completing yet another year of difficult adjustment. More importantly, it generated an additional large trade surplus — a surplus based partly on increased exports and not just on a reduction in imports, as happened in 1983."

The debt restructuring so far had not been enough to allow most Latin American countries to service their debt normally, by voluntary private bank lending.

The Latin American current account deficit was much reduced in 1984, at \$3 billion, compared with \$9 billion in 1983 and \$40 billion in 1982 when the debt crisis broke. In

terest payments were 35 per cent of total export earnings compared with 38 per cent in 1983 and 40 per cent in 1982.

The report says it is unclear whether the 1984 recovery halted the four year slide in investment throughout the region, and satisfactory growth would not be resumed without a resurgence in investment. Along with the need to increase imports, investment remains a critical issue for Latin America, says the IADB.

Last year's IADB lending was \$3,567 billion, bringing the bank's cumulative lending over its 25-year history to \$27.8 billion.

No major initiatives are expected at the Vienna meeting, which comes a few weeks ahead of discussions on world debt issues at the Interim Committee of the International Monetary Fund and the Development Committee of the

World Bank, in Washington. However there may be discussion of lagging US payments to the IADB, complicated by the policies of the Reagan Administration's involvement in Central America.

The leaders of the new Argentine and Brazilian economies will not be in Vienna because they are said to be too busy just after taking office. Both countries are having difficulties meeting their IMF targets, and the fund has suspended its loans to Brazil.

● Mexico is to obtain a \$165 million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank. The loan is designed to develop agriculture and livestock breeding. Mr Rod Chapman, IADB press and information officer for Europe, said the Mexican loan would run over 30 years at variable interest rates linked to the cost the IADB meets to raise the money.

Ironmonger joins rush to market

By our Financial Staff

The rush to market by rising companies continues this week with USM flotation of Laidlaw Thomson, the "largest independent architectural ironmonger in the UK." The company acts as designer, distributor and consultant in five-yearly architectural ironmongery.

Felding Newson-Smith is placing 1.6 million shares (30.6

per cent of the equity) at 82p, capitalising the group at \$4.36 million. Of the shares being offered 5 per cent will go to employees and the board expects that over 40 per cent of them will be shareholders after the issue. Over the past five years the group has seen its turnover almost double and its profits more than treble to £586,000.

Another offer for sale — but from the very well-established Bladen Industries — is really part three of a complex re-organisation which will transform the steel drum group. Shareholders are being offered 14.5 million shares, of which nine million are offered at 112p.

They can be had on a three-for-10 basis while bigger

tranches can be had by tendering at a higher rate than 112p. A striking price of about 120p seems likely, compared with the 130p at which the shares were suspended.

Finally, "Shorrock horror" was the reaction to our statement that the security group is coming to the USM. It is in fact after a full Stock Exchange quotation.

July target for new talks on cocoa deal

COMMODITIES

Robin Stainer

Doubts whether the erratic cocoa market can ever be brought under effective international control have been intensified by the failure of the latest round of negotiations — the third so far — on a new price-stabilisation agreement. The five weeks of talks in Geneva, attended by officials from 70 cocoa-trading nations, adjourned a week ago without setting a date for reconvening and with producers and consumers still wide apart on the crucial issue of the minimum price a crop should seek to guarantee.

The final resolution of the conference requested its president, Mr Rene Montes of Guatemala, to hold consultations with participating governments to find a basis for further negotiations that would offer a good chance of a successful conclusion. If he can, then he will ask United to set a date for a fourth round. It is expected that these consultations will culminate in July, when the present cocoa accord, which expires in September, meets in London to decide whether it is just possible.

should be extended for up to a year. The present International Cocoa Agreement (ICCA) entered into force in 1981, weakened by the refusal of the US and the Ivory Coast, respectively the biggest importer and exporter — to join and the lack of sufficient cash to carry out its price-support role, through buffer stock buying, in the then oversupplied market. Funds soon ran out and further intervention buying was officially suspended indefinitely two years ago.

Since then, more than £120 million has been accumulated from a levy on cocoa traded between ICCA members, which would be transferred to any new pact. The latest round of negotiations had been widely seen as the last chance to draw up a replacement ICCA. The fact that it left the door open to another session is a measure of its relative success. Differences were narrowed to an extent that many negotiators thought impossible beforehand, but the most significant concessions — by the producers on prices — came too late to save the talks from failure. But with both producers and consumers — including the EC's hardliners — hitting the cocoa market with their final offers on prices, the basis for a compromise in the future London to decide whether it is just possible.

Plan for 'backdoor' taxation' attacked

PROPOSALS from the Treasury to extend powers to control the financing of nationalised industries will encourage their use "as a source of backdoor taxation," Mr Michael Montague, chairman of the National Consumer Council, told the consumer Congress at the weekend.

People on low incomes would be hardest hit by this levying of extra tax, and the gas and electricity industries in particular would lose more control over their own pricing systems.

"No machinery for consulting with consumers' representatives is proposed and indeed, the document, containing the proposals was sent out without all the relevant consumer bodies being consulted, which hardly augurs well for the future. Recent decisions in the water industry should put us on our guard," Mr Montague told delegates.

He regretted that the Government had ignored the anger and outrage of consumer organisations and many MPs following last year's decision to oblige the electricity industry to put its prices up 2 per cent more than economically justified.

Mr Montague said he was worried by government proposals to take powers to dismiss members of nationalised industry boards for no particular reason.

"Once appointed, board members' responsibility should be to the industry they are running and the shareholders — us and consumers. They should not be looking over their shoulder if they will be sacked if they do not dance to the tune of the government of the day."

The National Consumer Council would also like to see the Government's insolvency bill strengthened, to give consumers more protection against incompetent or fraudulent directors of companies which go out of business.

It was "wicked," Mr Montague said, that consumers should come last in the queue for payment out of a bankrupt firm's assets and might get no money back whatsoever.

Key phrase dropped from pesticide code

By James Erlichman, Chemicals Correspondent

Campaigners attempting to restrict the export of dangerous pesticides to Third World countries are facing defeat at the hands of pesticide manufacturers and Western governments.

Pressure groups led by Oxfam have campaigned to make it essential for Third World governments to give their "prior informed consent" before dangerous pesticides are shipped to their shores. These key words had been drafted into the international code which Britain and other big pesticide-producing countries have sworn to abide. The restriction, Oxfam believes, would have helped to reduce the 10,000 deaths by the accidental pesticide poisoning which are estimated to occur in developing countries every year.

But now the words "prior informed consent" have been deleted from the latest draft of the international code of conduct drawn up by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations.

Strong pressure from the pesticide manufacturers' lobby and Western governments, eager to boost their balance of payments, is believed to have caused the crucial caveat to be dropped.

As a signatory to the FAO Britain is obliged to adhere to its guidelines. Pesticide campaigners were therefore surprised to hear Lord Belstead, the junior Agriculture Minister, resigning to the House of Lords in January that Britain would honour "all its international obligations" on pesticide exports. Now they suspect he had prior reason to believe that the "prior informed consent" clause would be stricken from the code.

Lobbyists for the Third World were travelling to Rome Headquarters of the FAO this weekend in the hope of convincing the secretariat to re-instate the clause. The Government has argued that export restrictions do not deleted from the latest draft of the international code of conduct drawn up by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations.

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Dividends per share	3.35p	3.75p

* Increase in profits for the tenth consecutive year

* 15% increase in earnings per share

* Another year of record profit expected in 1985

Accounts available from the Secretary, Crest House, Station Road, Egham, Surrey TW20 9NP

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MINISTRY OF ENERGY AND THE PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

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NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INVITATION TO TENDER

NUMBER 1982.1M/DIV

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This invitation to Tender is addressed solely to production companies — Amalgamations, Company Representatives and other intermediaries being excluded in accordance with the provisions of Law No. 78.02 of 11 February, 1978, concerning State Monopoly on Foreign Trade.

Companies interested in this Invitation to Tender may obtain specifications from the following address: Entreprise Nationale des Travaux aux Puits, Direction des Approvisionnements, 16 Route de Metfah, Oued Smar El-Harrach, Alger, Algeria, as from the date of publication of this invitation to Tender on payment of the sum of 400.00 D.A.

Tenders drawn up in five (05) copies, should be sent in double sealed and registered packet to the Secretariat of the Direction Approvisionnement.

The outer envelope must be anonymous, carrying no marking except the following endorsement: "Appel D'Offres National Et International No. 1982.1M/DIV Confidential" — A Ne Pas Ouvrir.

The tenders should arrive by Saturday, 27 April, 1985, by 12.00 hours. The option period shall be 180 days as from the closing date of this invitation to Tender.

This advertisement is issued in compliance with the requirements of the Council of The Stock Exchange.



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(Incorporated in England under the Companies Acts 1948 to 1987 No. 067430)

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Placing by

Felding, Newson-Smith & Co.

of 1,628,472 Ordinary Shares of 25p each at 82p per share

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Particulars relating to the Company are available in the Extel/Statistical Services and copies of the Prospectus may be obtained during normal business hours on any weekday (Saturdays excepted) up to and including 9th April, 1985 from:

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25th March, 1985



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Applicants should have a sound background in journalism or public relations and must be able to work under pressure with minimal supervision. Enthusiasm, enterprise, tact and a friendly outgoing personality are other essential qualities. Knowledge of local government would help.

Commencing salary according to experience etc: plus car allowance and home telephone allowance.

Telephone Richard Gibbs Press and PRO on 01-681 8562 for further information and application forms.

British Standards Institution

PUBLICITY WRITER

Applications are invited for the above mentioned position at our offices in Milton Keynes. The successful candidate will report to the Head of Design and be part of a small creative team preparing publicity for the whole of BS.

Responsibilities will include leaflets, brochures and exhibitions etc. Three years' writing experience is essential, and applicants should feel equally at home with hard selling promotional copy and complex technical concepts.

Salary will be within the range £9,414-£12,068 pa, and benefits include five weeks' annual leave, subsidised restaurant and social club.

For an application form, please telephone: David Bennett on 0908 320633

British Standards Institution
Lisford Wood, Milton Keynes, MK14 6LE

ARNOLFINI/BRISTOL

MUSIC & DANCE ASSISTANT

Arnolfini is a major organisation presenting new developments in the visual arts, music, dance, theatre and cinema. Our live events programme is looking for a new Secretary / Assistant. If you have a knowledge and interest in twentieth-century music, new dance and non-narrative theatre as well as good typing and proven office organisational skills, and are prepared to work a flexible week, including some evenings and weekends, you may be just the person we are looking for. Salary range £5,304-£5,746.

For further details and application form, write to Ann Godfrey, Arnolfini, Narrow Quay, Bristol BS1 4QA.

SCULPTOR-IN-RESIDENCE

Applications are invited for the above post based at Limecroft House for the Elderly, Limerick, Oldham, for a 12-week period 20th May-30th August, 1985. Applicants will be expected to make a sculpture for the Limecroft garden and to take part in project work with residents and local school children. Accommodation, meals and studio provided. Facilities are excellent for an artist with physical disability. Supported by North West Arts. Fee £2,000. Materials allocation £500.

Further details and application forms available from the Control, Oldham Art Gallery, Union Street, Oldham OL1 1DN. (061-678 4851). Closing date 15th April, 1985.

PHOTOGRAPHY COMMISSIONS OLDHAM '85

Applications are invited for 3 Oldham-based photography commissions worth £500 each. Each photographer will be asked to provide 15 prints on higher classes area of interest for inclusion in an exhibition Oldham '85 - New Directions, to be held at Oldham Art Gallery Aug-Sept 1985. Supported by North West Arts.

Further details and application forms available from The Control, Oldham Art Gallery, Union Street, Oldham OL1 1DN. (061-678 4851). Closing date for receipt of applications 25th April 1985.

FOCUS NORTH WEST

Applications are invited for 3 Oldham-based photography commissions worth £500 each. Each photographer will be asked to provide 15 prints on higher classes area of interest for inclusion in an exhibition Oldham '85 - New Directions, to be held at Oldham Art Gallery Aug-Sept 1985. Supported by North West Arts.

Further details and application forms available from The Control, Oldham Art Gallery, Union Street, Oldham OL1 1DN. (061-678 4851). Closing date for receipt of applications 25th April 1985.

ADVERTISING MEDIA ASSISTANT

Lively international advertising agency requires a media assistant to work on a range of FMCG accounts. Good accurate typing and ability to work on own initiative essential. Salary £8,000.

Please contact Emma Coles on 01-623 6766

ARTISTIC DIRECTOR

A socialist feminist collective housing nationally with a strong element of music. Written applications to be sent with a CV. Closing date 5th April.

Young, fast growing company needs a

PR WRITER

£8,000 + bonus + benefits

Cahners Exhibitions, part of the world's largest exhibition organisers, are looking for a professional writer for their Press and PR department. This exciting new appointment requires someone with good news sense and the ability to identify and write top-notch articles even when exhibitors think there isn't a story to tell.

Responsibilities include research and writing articles and press releases for the whole range of Cahners shows. These cover such markets as electronics production equipment, design engineering, computers, automated manufacture and pharmaceutical production, so the successful applicant should ideally be well versed in the "hi tech" industries and capable of keeping abreast of technological changes within them.

If you can work on your own initiative and would like a chance to develop your job along the lines that you want it to go, write with full CV to:

Charles Mills,
Marketing Director,
CAHNER'S EXHIBITIONS,
Chatsworth House, 59 London Road,
Twickenham, TW1 3SZ.

Advertisement Manager

Community Care, the market leader in the social services field needs an Advertisement Manager experienced in dealing with recruitment classified and display advertising.

Community Care is one of our most successful weekly journals and the new Manager must have the ability to motivate a successful sales team by example.

Community Care has maintained an impressive growth in an extremely competitive market since its launch in April, 1974 and the successful applicant will be expected to make a significant contribution to the continuing development of the product as well as demonstrate a creative approach to selling.

Salary £33,500 to £38,000 per annum, depending on experience, plus company car. Five weeks holiday per year contributory pension scheme. Based in modern offices in Sutton, Surrey.

Please send full C.V. to: Christine Standing, Senior Personnel Officer, Business Press International Ltd., Surrey House, 1 Thameley Way, Sutton, Surrey SM1 4QU.

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BUSINESS PRESS INTERNATIONAL

PROMOTION EXECUTIVE

MacLaren Publishers, market leaders in trade and technical publications and exhibitions, and now a fast-growing division of BMAP, are looking for a new Promotion Executive.

He/she will be planning and carrying through circulation and vector promotion campaigns on a number of different journals and exhibitions, working closely with Publishers, Advertisement Managers and Editors.

The successful candidate will probably be in the age range 21-30 have experience of promoting publications and be an enthusiastic, energetic self-starter, well versed in direct mail promotion techniques, forecasting and budgetary control. He/she will be expected to work with a minimum of supervision in an increasingly important role.

A competitive salary will be offered plus a quarterly bonus and a minimum of four weeks holiday.

Please write, with full cv, to: BSI MacLaren Publishers Ltd, MacLaren House, PO Box 108, Scarborough Road, Croydon CR9 1QH

MacLaren Publishers Ltd

MacLaren Publishers Ltd

MacLaren House, PO Box 108

Scarborough Road, Croydon CR9 1QH

Part Time Telephone Research Work

from home

BBC-1

6.00 am Ceefax AM. 6.50 Breakfast Time. 9.20 Pages from Ceefax. 10.30 Play School. 10.50 Pages from Ceefax. 12.30 pm News after Noon. 1.00 Pebble Mill at 1. 1.45 Postman Pat. 2.00 Men. 2.15 Home. 2.25 Streetwise. Self-defence tips. 2.35 Prime Time Live. 2.50 Songs of Praise from St Mary's RC Church. 3.00 Ceefax sub-titles. 3.25 Pages from Ceefax. 3.45 Regional News (except London). 3.50 Play School. 4.10 SuperTed. 4.15 Jackanory. The Magic Pudding by Norman Lindsay. 4.30 Bananaman. 4.35 Pops and the Happy Days Gang. 5.00 Newsworld. 5.15 Blue Peter. Ceefax sub-titles. 5.35 Grange Hill. Ceefax sub-titles.

6.00 NEWS; weather.

6.35 REGIONAL NEWS MAGAZINES.

7.00 WOGAN. And his revolving door guests include Anna Ford, Edna O'Brien, the Flying Pickets, and soccer star Graham Souther.

7.40 FAME: Blizzard. Snowed in at the dream factory overnight, staff and students of the Performing Arts High School find the accommodations less than luxurious. Chris and Danny try to fix the heating. Doris, Jesse, Nicole, and a terrified intruder are obliged to undertake a different kind of patching-up.

8.30 ARE YOU BEING SERVED? Friends and Neighbours. Mollie Sugden, John Inman lead the department store sitcom with the staff discovering that a place on the premises saves time and money, but does nothing for their tempers.

9.00 NEWS; weather.

9.25 PANORAMA: The Jewish Pawns in Russia's Game. Michael Lindley in a report filmed secretly in Moscow and Leningrad, talks to the Refuseniks: the thousands of Russian Jews who want to leave the Soviet Union and are not allowed to go. Out of their reach, the KGB, sacked from their jobs and sentenced to hard labour, their plight is desperate.

10.00 OPERATION UNDERCOVER. Looking every inch a nobody, Richard Gere makes his film debut in Broadway director Milton Katselas's plausible 1974 crime thriller. An attractive girl is shot dead in a drug dealer's apartment, and a policeman is charged with her murder. Both of them had been undercover cops in sleazy, dangerous Times Square. The Commissioner of Police demands a full report, not just the customary cover-up. Roaring chases, colourful Manhattan locations, and a claustrophobic finale in an elevator brighten a lowbrow but lively feature.

11.55 Weather; close.

BBC-2

6.30-7.20 am Open University. 9.00 Pages from Ceefax. 9.15 Daytime on Two: Higher Education. 9.30 Going to Work: 10.00 You and Me. 10.15 Music Time. 10.30 British Social History. 11.00 The Big Zieg (Ceefax sub-titles). 11.25 Des Le Debut. 11.42 General Studies: Can Marriage Survive? 12.00 Pages from Ceefax. 12.35 Receding Horizons. 1.25 Pages from Ceefax. 1.35 Scotland this Century. 2.00 Words and Pictures. 2.15 Exploring Science. 2.40 The Music Arcade. 3.00 Pages from Ceefax.

5.25 NEWS with sub-titles; weather.

5.30 LIFEBOAT: Dangerous Cargo. Brian Thompson's continuing account of the brave men in the Humber lifeboat.

6.00 DIAL M for MURDER (1954). Ray Milland is the nonchalant tennis pro hiring a hit man to murder his rich, faithless wife, Grace Kelly. Hitchcock beautifully manages all his usual flourishes, in spite of the limitations of a single-roomed set, and a 3D camera which couldn't focus on the crucial telephone dial — so a gargantuan dial had to be built, along with a big fat prop finger to stick into it. You'll have to look hard to spot the Master's token appearance — in a group photo on a wall.

7.40 ANIMATION NOW: Give Me Some Action. Animation against unemployment — to the tune of a song by Pagoda.

7.45 MADHUR JAFFREY'S INDIAN COOKERY: Tandoori Prawns.

8.10 HORIZON: How to Film the Impossible. A behind-the-scenes look at the technical jiggery-pokery involved in conjuring up Hollywood's most magical spectacles.

9.00 LAUGH??? I NEARLY PAID MY LICENCE FEE. Penultimate compilation from the alternative comedy revue.

9.25 THE YOUNG ONES. Another repeat episode of the show that's done so much for hamsters, tampons, and Cliff Richard...

10.00 ARENA: The Old Kent Road. South Londoner Mary Dickinson samples the myrrid delights to be found in the historic, fun-filled thoroughfare which boasts 14 pubs in less than two miles.

11.00 NEWSNIGHT. 11.45 Weatherview.

11.50 ANIMATION NOW: Top Priority. Canadian film with a message set in a Third World country that chooses weapons over water and feeding the population. 12.5 Close.

ITV London

6.15 am Good Morning Britain. 9.25 News Headlines: Schools. 9.30 Picture Box. 9.47 Let's Read. 10.15 Basil Brush. 10.30 Stop Look Listen. 10.42 Starting Science. 10.50 The English Programme. 11.00 See and Do. 11.10 Junior Maths. 11.30 The French Programme. 12.00 Tickle on the Tum. 12.10 pm Let's Pretend. 12.30 Baby and Co. 1.00 News. 1.20 Thames News. 1.30 Film: The Naked Jungle. 1954 adventure yarn with Charlton Heston, Eleanor Parker. 3.25 News Headlines. 3.30 The Young Doctors. 4.00 Tickle on the Tum. 4.15 Baffin. 4.20 He-Man and Masters of the Universe. 4.45 Dodger, Bonzo and the Rest. Oracle sub-titles. 5.15 Different Strokes.

5.45 NEWS; weather.

6.00 THAMES NEWS with Andrew Gardner, Tina Jenkins.

6.25 HELP! with Viv Taylor Gee. Oracle sub-titles.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 WHAT'S MY LINE? Eamonn Andrews presents more mystifying matters your careers officer never thought to fill you in on.

7.30 CORONATION STREET. Oracle sub-titles.

8.00 ROLL OVER BEETHOVEN. Can bright-eyed Belinda (Liza Goddard), music teacher and daddy's girl, break the ties that bind — and hit the road with weedy rock millionaire Nigel (Nigel Planer)? Oracle sub-titles.

8.30 WORLD IN ACTION: A Prescription for the Poor. 3. The first two programmes took a long hard look at the NHS's problems. Now for some possible solutions. Could we really get better care, at no extra cost, by going private?

9.00 QUINCY: Quincy's Wedding — Part 1. The grizzled pathologist, getting ready to tie the knot himself, has to unravel yet another in the shape of an old lady who claims she saw her spouse off, on the eve of their wedding anniversary.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN. Thames News Headlines.

10.30 THE LADY VANISHES. This 1936 classic movie replaces the scheduled film as a tribute to Michael Redgrave, who died last week. Written by Gilliat and Launder, directed by Hitchcock, and featuring Margaret Lockwood, Basil Radford and Naunton Wayne, this is perhaps the best train thriller of them all. Other ITV companies are screening it this afternoon.

12.15 NIGHT THOUGHTS with Moshe Davis. Closedown.

Channel 4

2.35 pm Vietnam: The Ten Thousand Day War. 12.35: Wanting Out. 3.00 The Late Late Show. 4.00 A Plus. 4.30 The People's Court. 5.00 Alice.

5.30 4 COMPUTER BUFFS. Tony Bastabile and Jane Ashton with the last in the series for serious computer users — reviewing d-l-y computer books and playing jazz with the aid of a Macintosh.

6.00 WHERE IN THE WORLD? Ray Alan chases the faintly famous faces travel quiz.

6.30 S.W.A.L.K. Shaping Up. Final repeat episode of Paula Milne's bitter-sweet cautionary tale for scruffy teens as Nicola Cover posing paid at last to Prunella Scales's fantasy-peddling Patti.

7.00 CHANNEL FOUR NEWS. 7.50 Comment by David Gilmour. Weather.

8.00 BROOKSIDE.

8.30 RELATIVE STRANGERS. Penultimate prog in the grubby sitcom starring Martin Kelly as free spirit Fitz, Mark Farmer as his illegitimate son John.

9.00 REPERCUSSIONS: Caribbean Crucible. The Afro-American musical history series visits Jamaica and the Dominican Republic — and looks at how the music of the slave societies fuelled the throbbing exuberance of rumba, zouk, and reggae.

10.00 NEWHART: Best Friends.

10.35 PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITS. The Eleventh Hour season of independent fiction films continues with a Dressed Double-bill in which contemporary women sift the mystery deaths of ladies long gone. The first, Claire Barwell's feminist re-telling of Antonioni's thriller Blow Up, reconstructs the macabre fate of a pregnant woman, using 1922 police photographs of the Lea River in Clapton, London.

10.55 PROPERTY RITES. In Heather Fowler's film young Birmingham writer Cathy and her friend Lynn determine to uncover the truth behind acquitted Abraham Thornton's alleged rape and murder of Mary Ashford, back in 1817. 12.0 Close.

SAC: 1.0 pm Countdown. 1.30 Face the Press. 2.00 Fennestr. 2.20 Cococ. 2.35 Film: The Adventures of Mark Twain (1949), with Frederick March. 4.30 Dan Duggan. 5.00 Duggan by Syd. 5.30 Computer Buffs. 6.00 Duggan. 6.30 Duggan. 7.00 Duggan. 7.30 Duggan. 8.00 Duggan. 8.30 Duggan. 9.00 Duggan. 9.30 Duggan. 10.00 Duggan. 10.30 Duggan. 11.00 Duggan. 11.30 Duggan. 12.00 Duggan.

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